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Cover: Lithograph of the storming of Missionary Ridge, from Alfred H. Guernsey and Henry M. Alden, *Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War* (Chicago: Star Publishing Co., 1866), p. 566. That event is vividly described in the memoirs of James Connolly and U.S. Grant, which are discussed in the Hallwas article, "Civil War Accounts as Literature."

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UNIFORMS AND EQUIPMENT OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR AND THE MORMON WAR

John Lee Allaman

The Black Hawk War and the Mormon War evoked storms of hatred and violence in frontier Illinois. Historians over the years have intensely studied both of these struggles. Extensive published documentary collections exist for both conflicts.[1] One area that has received scant attention is the types of weapons, clothing, and personal military equipment used by the ordinary regular or militia volunteer of the two wars. Two important pioneering studies on this subject are Wayne C. Temple's article on the weapons and clothing used by Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War and Harry W. Gibson's article on the frontier arms of the Mormons.[2] Previously, historians have usually analyzed the Black Hawk War and the Mormon War as two distinctly separate incidents. In terms of the military material culture used by the individual soldiers, they were very similar events.

To fully understand the Black Hawk War and the Mormon War or Conflict, one needs general information on the roles the militia and the regulars played in the early national period of the United States. Militia units composed of all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were the mainstay of American military defense in the early years of the nineteenth century. The tradition of militia units dated back to the early colonial period. Usually militia units were reservoirs of manpower that were tapped for volunteers who were willing to enlist for a short time in a specific expedition against marauding Indians or a foreign power. When white settlements reached a certain level of stability and growth, the fear of Indians or foreign soldiers disappeared. Militia units then began practicing more of a civil religious role in many communities. Muster or training day became a festive time period. Townsfolk and the rural populace gathered to see the marching demonstrations, troop reviews, and mock battles, which were more important as occasions for social interaction with their neighbors than as preparations for war. Usually the general militia units trained only a few times a year, and by the 1830s and 1840s the tradition of muster days had virtually disappeared.[3]

In those years militia units were starting to be replaced by groups of uniformed volunteer companies organized by young men interested in military tactics and exercise. The uniformed companies were the social clubs of the period. In this same period American urban centers witnessed an increased number of violent acts and riots. Since most cities had no organized police departments, the volunteer companies as the only existent type of organized armed force often suppressed these civil insurrections. Military rank became an important symbol of prestige for many politicians and prominent men of the era. Some of the more

famous military politicians included Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, and Sam Houston. Many lesser politicians also liked military titles and preferred being addressed by their military ranks rather than their civilian titles.[4]

This love of military titles by politicians did not translate into massive support for a large and well equipped military force. The United States Army in the 1830s and early 1840s performed the tasks of border guards in the numerous posts along the country's frontiers. The Army also tried to protect land hungry whites from the native Indian populations which sometimes resulted in bloody confrontations like the Black Hawk and Seminole Wars. The size of the Army in the fifteen-year span from 1830 to 1845 reflects the lack of interest in a large military establishment. In 1831, the total strength of the Army was 6,055 officers and enlisted men. This figure rose to over 12,000 in 1837 and 1840. By 1845, at the onset of the Mexican-American War, the Army's total had declined to 8,509 men.[5]

Members of the regular Army continually held the militia forces in contempt. Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett in 1840 claimed that the militia "cannot stand the steady charge of regular forces, and are disordered by their maneuvers in the open field; whereas their fire is more deadly from behind the ramparts." Zachary Taylor in June 1832 described the Black Hawk War militia by saying, "The more I see of the militia the less confidence I have in their effecting any thing of importance."[6]

The Illinois experience well illustrates the transitional evolution from militia units to volunteer companies. The 1818 Illinois constitution remained in effect in the 1830s and early 1840s. It ordered that the militia would be composed of all able-bodied white male residents "between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years." Those wanting to avoid service could pay an exemption. Officers were to be elected by their men but they were to be commissioned by the Governor. Members of the militia were exempt from arrest going to and from militia "musters and elections." In 1838, Illinois required "military duty" for "three days, annually." Supposedly, Illinois had an enrolled militia force of 83,234 men in its 1841 report to the Federal government. Most of these men were infantry but four companies of cavalry and eleven companies of riflemen also existed.[7]

The militia units continued to exist on the pages of Illinois statute books in the 1840s but by the end of the 1830s the volunteer companies had superseded the militia units. In 1836, Jacksonville and Springfield had exchanges of their respective volunteer companies. The Springfield companies first marched to Jacksonville where they were entertained with military honors, a parade, and a banquet and ball. Later that same year the Jacksonville companies marched to Springfield where mock battles were conducted along with a banquet and a ball.[8] These volunteer companies differed from militia units in that they required their members to furnish their own uniforms before they could become a part of the company. In most other respects the volunteer companies performed the same duties as the militia by entertaining the public with drilling exercises, parades, and mock battles.

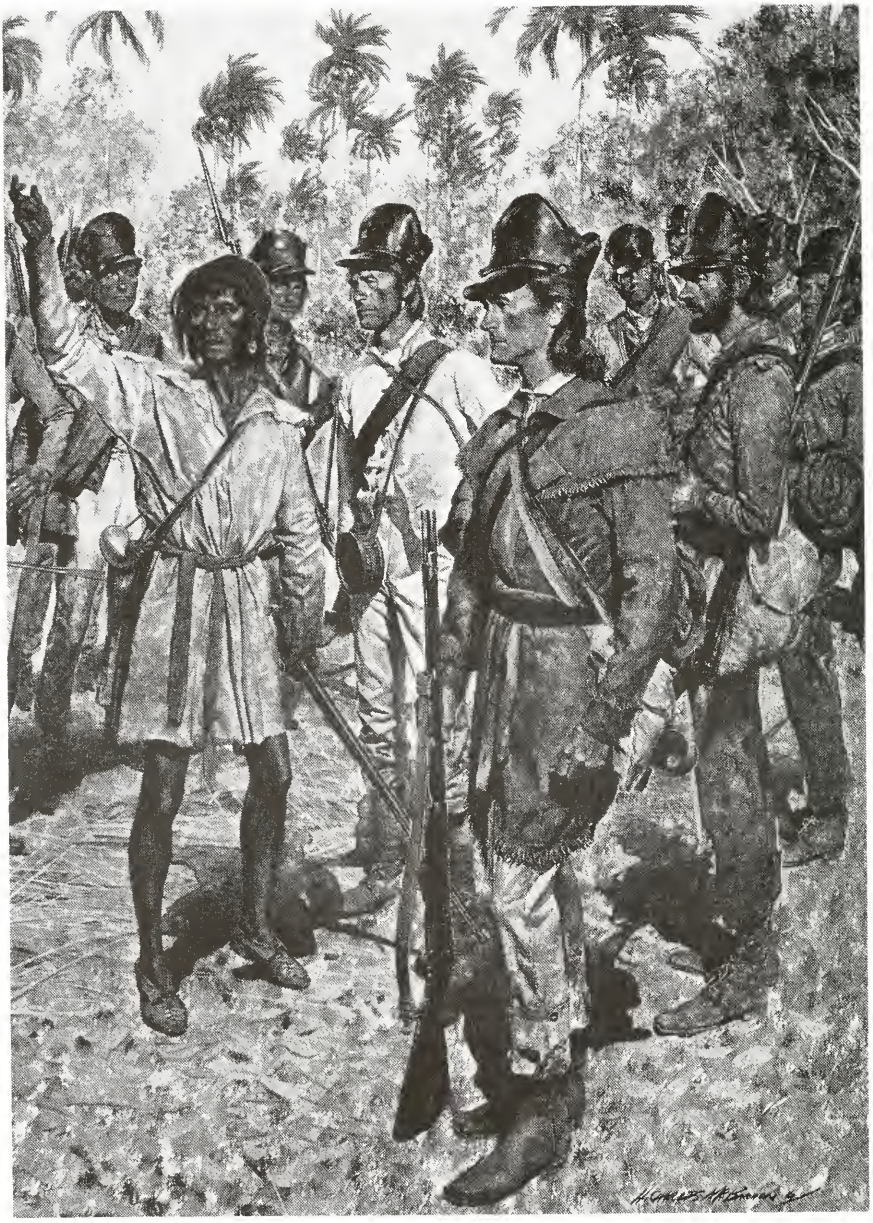
The last real war on Illinois soil was the Black Hawk War of 1832, and it only lasted a very short time. Most of the fighting took place in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. In actuality western Illinois did not see much of the short war. White settlers developed a defensive line of fortified blockhouses from Lower

Yellow Banks on the Mississippi River to Peoria on the Illinois River. Except for an isolated event like the murder of William Martin in Warren County by several roving Indians the area of western Illinois saw little violence. The only major troop movement through the area was the march of Samuel Whiteside's column of volunteers from Beardstown to Rock Island. This detachment included many young men from central Illinois, one of them being Abraham Lincoln of New Salem. Fort Armstrong on Rock Island was an important command center for the prosecution of the war as well as being the site for the signing of the final peace treaties. Provisions for the army were sent by boat up the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers. Except for being between the two major supply lines of the war, western Illinois served as a quiet rear echelon area during the conflict.[9]

Most of the blockhouses built in western Illinois were fortified log buildings. Sometimes a second story might be included to serve as a watchtower. One 1882 county history described a Black Hawk War fortification this way: "A place was first enclosed by twelve foot slabs set in the ground, inside of which was built the blockhouse, consisting of two stories, the upper one projecting out about two feet over the lower one, each having loop holes on all sides, through which to shoot."[10]

Not surprisingly the Black Hawk War documentary collection makes no mention of what kinds of clothes the militia volunteers wore during the short conflict. Most volunteers undoubtedly wore their usual civilian clothes during their military service. Men in frontier Illinois often "wore brown or blue jeans clothing—pants made with a flap in front, knit-yarn suspenders, and sometimes a coonskin cap. They also wore heavy cowhide boots or shoes." Another important item of clothing was the fringed hunting shirt, hunting frock, or wamus. People often utilized linen or cotton material, and leather skins to make this garment. The hunting frock closely resembled the "common working frock worn by . . . country people" and laborers. Sewers sometimes made the shirt or frock as a pull-over item of clothing and other times it would be open in front and then held shut with a sash or a leather belt. John Reynolds claimed that a "blue linsey hunting-shirt" with "fringe . . . composed of red and other gay colors" was the "universal outside wear" of early Illinois. Matthew Jamison remembered that many of the early farmers of Henderson County wore a red linsey-woolsey wamus. This item of clothing dates from at least the period of the French and Indian War. One Dubuque, Wisconsin Territory newspaper mentioned it still being sold in a store advertisement as late as 1836.[11]

The uniforms worn by Army regulars during the war are better documented. In the 1820s the U.S. Army began to experiment with the idea of regulation fatigue uniforms in addition to the parade ground dress uniforms. The dress coatees worn in this period were very similar to the single-breasted blue tail coat used in the War of 1812. White or blue fall-front trousers were worn with the tail coat. The fatigue uniform worn by troops in the 1820s consisted of a single-breasted short jacket or roundabout made either of white cotton for summer wear or grey wool for winter. The fall-front fatigue trousers were also made of the same material as the coat depending on the season. The forage hat of the late 1820s was the chako. This blue round flat top frontal brim hat closely resembled civilian hats of the period often worn by steamboat captains and other laborers. The common shoe worn by the regular soldiers was the square-toed



The American Soldier, 1839, from The American Soldier *print series by H. Charles McBarron. This shows the common fatigue uniform and hunting frock.*

Jefferson boot or bootee, a laced ankle high shoe. Army troops wore the Jefferson boots from about 1816 through the post Civil War period.[12]

In 1833, official Army regulations prescribed the undress uniform for mounted troops or Dragoons as a short waist-length jacket of dark blue wool. This blue jacket remained standard issue in the Army through the post Civil War period. Two of the names given this kind of garment included Dragoon jacket and Shell jacket. Infantrymen in this period wore a sky blue Shell jacket for fatigue duty. The summer uniform worn by all troops in the period of 1833 to 1851 duplicated the single breasted Dragoon jacket except it was made in white cotton instead of blue wool. Trousers were sky blue or blue wool for winter and white cotton for summer wear. Officers in the 1830s could wear a version of the Shell jacket while on campaign or fatigue duty but by 1839 they also had the option to wear a longer dark blue frock coat similar to what was worn during the Civil War. The regulations of 1833 ordered that an entirely leather cap would replace the cloth "chako." This leather cap was replaced in 1839 by the round dark blue cloth forage cap worn during the Mexican-American War.[13]

All of these uniform changes may be confusing but it does help one to understand the probable dress worn by regular soldiers during the Black Hawk War. Soldiers were evidently issued both summer and winter clothing during the course of the war. Orders issued by Brigadier General Henry Atkinson on April 5, 1832 and by Major General Winfield Scott on June 27, 1832 specifically mention "summer clothing." This was the white cotton clothing usually worn from May to October. At least twice on April 5, and on September 16, 1832, Atkinson mentioned issuing gray jackets to his men. One of these orders included a reference to "Gray pantaloons." In April 1832, Atkinson ordered that his men should be issued "Chackos." This may have meant the leather military dress hat commonly called the shako but it probably referred to the cloth fatigue chako since the rest of the order mentions fatigue uniforms rather than dress uniforms. Thus it would seem the regular troops during the Black Hawk War were issued the common fatigue uniform of the late 1820s and the early 1830s. Of course this does not mean that individual variations in dress might not have occurred even among the regulars.[14]

Clothing is important to a soldier's life but another common concern is eating. Food is very necessary, of course, but often no mention is made of what historical people ate. The types of food available for campaigning during the Black Hawk War were limited. On May 30, 1831 Major General Edmund P. Gaines ordered companies of the 3rd and 6th Regiments of Infantry to supply themselves with "Hard Bread" and "salted pork." Illinois Governor John Reynolds seems to have had very similar provisions issued to his volunteer militia in April 1832. The Illinois troops were provided flour for bread and salted pork. In addition they were to be issued corn, rice, sugar, coffee, molasses, possibly rum, wine, and tea. Tough bread and salted pork or beef were the common provisions issued to soldiers on the move. These two kinds of food were very resistant to long term spoilage. Even during the Civil War the two most common types of rations issued were hardtack and sow belly otherwise known as hard bread and salt pork.[15]

The typical army regular or militia volunteer carried several pieces of equipment. George Washington's Militia Act of 1792 set a basic standard that militia

men were suppose to follow. The act ordered "That every citizen . . . provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot pouch, and powder horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder." Other important items often carried by soldiers and volunteers included a haversack to carry dry rations in, a powder flask instead of a powder horn, and a canteen sometimes made of tin but often made of wood in a shape reminiscent of a barrel. While regulars usually carried a knapsack to store their personal effects in, many volunteers used a blanket and an oiled or painted waterproof cloth to make a combination bedroll and knapsack.[16]

Weapons were the most important item carried by regulars and volunteers and these guns were a diverse lot. References exist in the Black Hawk War papers to Harper's Ferry rifles and muskets, Hall's rifles, and shotguns. Of this group only the Hall's rifle was a breechloader, all the rest were muzzleloaders. Most small arms used in the Black Hawk War were undoubtedly flintlock ignition weapons since the United States Army did not completely change to a percussion cap ignition system until the mid-1840s. Percussion guns were available in the 1820s because Major Stephen H. Long's 1823 Northern Expedition reportedly carried a Tryon percussion pistol. Some of the Black Hawk War volunteers might also have carried smoothbore Northwest Guns and American Rifles (commonly called today Pennsylvania rifles). Both of these weapons were being sold by S. Phelps & Co. at the Forks of the Iowa River in 1833. These two guns were intended for the Indian Trade but no doubt white settlers purchased them when the need arose.[17]

While Illinois residents sometimes brought their own weapons from home, the most common small arm issued to both regulars and volunteers was the smoothbore flintlock musket. Regular troops were probably armed with the 1821 model U.S. Musket and the volunteers were probably given the 1795 or 1808 model U.S. Musket. Both the 1795 and the 1808 models closely resembled the French 1763 Charleville musket which had been supplied in large numbers to the Americans during the Revoluntionary War. The only identifiable small arm issued to volunteers is a reference to a half-stocked Harper's Ferry rifle. This description can only refer to the 1803 or 1814 models since they were the only military rifles produced in this period with a half-stock.[18]

The Black Hawk War gave some of the early settlers a taste of the violence usually associated with military life but the most violent conflict of arms to occur within the geographical confines of western Illinois was undoubtedly the Mormon War. This civil insurrection forced Illinois Governor Thomas Ford to call out the militia to help suppress the discord present between the Mormon and Anti-Mormon residents of Hancock County. One of the most important factors that brought on the Mormon War was the actions and role of the Nauvoo Legion.[19] Joseph Smith's use of the Legion to suppress the *Nauvoo Expositor* ultimately led to his own death and the expulsion of the Mormons from Hancock County.

In some ways the Nauvoo Legion was a very typical American militia unit. It combined attributes of both the old time militia and the new volunteer companies that were starting to blossom in the 1830s. The Mormons organized the Legion under old Illinois Militia statutes but they held marching drills, parades, and mock battles with the frequency of a volunteer company. Legion members trained in small groups as well as enmasse. The military effectiveness of the Legion is hard to measure. The officers of the Legion were supposedly using U.S. Army Commanding General Alexander Macomb's manual for military drill, the basic militia training manual of the late 1830s. One report does exist from a purported officer of the U.S. Artillery who viewed the Legion drilling on May 7, 1842. He described the Legion in these words: "Yesterday was a great day among the Mormons. Their Legion, to the number of two thousand men, was paraded by Generals Smith, Bennett, and others, and certainly made a very noble and imposing appearance. The evolutions of the troops directed by Major General Bennett, would do honor to any body of armed militia in any of the States, and approximates very closely to our regular forces. What does all this mean? Why this exact discipline of the Mormon corps? Do they intend to conquer Missouri, Illinois, Mexico? It is true they are part of the militia of the State of Illinois, by the charter of their Legion, but then there are no troops in the States like them in point of enthusiasm and warlike aspect, yea warlike character."[20]

One can easily say the Nauvoo Legion followed the traditional role of militia in American society presenting public entertainment through drills, parades, and mock battles but the individuals who saw the Legion as a conquering army of Zion may have had some justification for these fears. Even by conservative estimates the Nauvoo Legion contained about 2,500 men while the United States Army had a strength of approximately 8,500 men in 1845. Federal troops were scattered all over the country while the Nauvoo Legion centered itself in the city of Nauvoo. Joseph Smith platted Nauvoo on a defensible peninsula and also had groups of Mormons locate in nearby towns in Hancock County and southeastern Iowa to serve as early warning outposts in case of an attack on Nauvoo. The Nauvoo Temple could easily have been turned into a watchtower and a fortified blockhouse if a crisis situation developed.[21]

The Nauvoo Legion is one of the best documented military units in frontier Illinois yet very little information exists on what clothing the members wore, what kinds of food they ate, and what kinds of weapons and accoutrements they carried. Two contemporary sketches of Nauvoo Legion uniforms exist. John C. Bennett's *History of the Saints* contains sketches of himself and Joseph Smith in their Nauvoo Legion uniforms.[22] Both men have light trousers and dark jackets. Bennett's uniform seems to have more chest braid than Smith's. A chapeau bras hat is shown on a table next to Smith. It would seem both Smith and Bennett had uniform coats with tails. While these sketches may be inaccurate it would seem Nauvoo Legion officers wore uniforms copied after U.S. Army uniforms of the War of 1812 era.

The Smith and Bennett uniform sketches would have satisfied the 1845 Illinois Militia statute for general officer's uniforms. The Illinois Militia statute ordered officers to wear blue coats and pantaloons "made in the fashion of the United States' uniform." Smith and Bennett are shown wearing white pants but traditionally white pantaloons had been commonly worn with the blue coat in the

United States Army in the early years of the nineteenth century. One interesting part of the Illinois statute on militia uniforms is that it allowed platoon officers to "wear a blue hunting shirt and pantaloons, trimmed with red." This very likely was the traditional linen or cotton hunting frock dyed blue. Low-level officers of the Nauvoo Legion could have worn a hunting shirt and would not have been disobeying Illinois Militia uniform regulations.[23]

Especially in matters of clothing the rank and file of the Nauvoo Legion more accurately reflected militia practice than the spit and polish of the volunteer companies. The Springfield volunteers in the 1830s supposedly had uniforms but this was not the case for the 1840s Nauvoo Legion. Charlotte Haven has left us an excellent pen picture of the uniforms worn by the Legion on September 7, 1843. She described the Legion this way: "There were over 2,000 men, it was said, divided into four divisions, and when marching in line with two bands of music they made quite an imposing appearance. Their costumes, for I can't say uniforms, were more fantastic than artistic. They were quite picturesque, certainly, for every officer and private consulted his individual taste; no two were alike. Nearly all had some badge, stripe, or scarf, of bright color. Some wore the breeches and knee-buckles of a hundred years ago. I thought if some Eastern military company would send out discarded uniforms, they might make a good speculation. However, they went through their drill, marching, counter-marching, and forming squares and other military combinations, very nicely." It would seem the uniforms of the Legion were very much the everyday clothing worn by Legion members. The knee breeches may have been worn to commemorate the glorious days of the Revolutionary War.[24]

Some members of the Legion were not even adequately shod. One reference exists in Joseph Smith's *History of the Church* that a Legion company from Ramus arrived in Nauvoo on June 20, 1844 with "many of them . . . destitute of boots or shoes." Smith "directed the quartermaster to furnish those who needed with shoes." Of course it must be remembered that the common people often went barefoot in the summer months.[25]

One non-Mormon memoir described a company of Mormons or Mormon sympathizers as looking almost like bandits. Eudocia Baldwin Marsh remembered one group of Jack Mormons she saw on September 19 and 20, 1845 as "an ill looking set [of men], with long hair and beards, dressed in butternut colored clothing and in addition to guns and swords bristled all over with pistols dirks and bowie knives—some of the latter being thrust into their boot legs—their belts seeming inadequate to hold them all." Women of the frontier commonly used the juice of walnut hulls for dyeing white canvas or wool cloth brown. They then utilized this brown cloth in making up their families' work clothes. Even as late as the final years of the Civil War, Confederate soldiers were often attired in butternut clothing.[26]

Since the rank and file of the Nauvoo Legion had no specific uniform without a doubt most of their opponents had no regulation uniforms either. Many of the citizens of western Illinois who went off to do battle with the Mormons probably wore their civilian clothes just like the Black Hawk War volunteers had done a decade before. One exception is the Quincy Riflemen who were organized in March 1843. Supposedly "The uniform of the 'Riflemen' was a dark green frock coat and cap with dark trousers." Even this adequate uniform

description prompts the question of what kind of frock coat is being described? It could have been a green hunting frock which would have been similar to the summer coat worn by U.S. Army riflemen in the period of the War of 1812. Possibly it could be the civilian dress coat that was very popular during the middle part of the nineteenth century. Maybe it was a green version of the military frock coat worn by members of the U.S. military from 1839 through the Civil War. Without a doubt the green color was chosen to emulate U.S. Army riflemen or sharpshooters since green was associated with elite companies of riflemen in both the War of 1812 and the Civil War periods.[27]

When on skirmish duty, members of both the Nauvoo Legion and the Anti-Mormon militia companies probably subsisted on salted meat and hard bread. Maybe johnny-cake or corn-dodger might be substituted for wheat bread as it was when the Mormon Army of Zion marched to Missouri in 1834. One can also assume that troops in the field had no qualms about liberating food from their enemies if the need arose. Thievery was one of the common crimes that non-Mormons often levied against the residents of Nauvoo.[28]

Almost no documentation exists detailing the types of military equipment carried by participants in the Mormon War. It can be assumed that the traditional cartridge box, haversack, rifleman's pouch, powder flask, and barrel canteen could have been carried but nothing in the written record gives any hints. One brief item does mention that "The rear platoon of the Carthage Greys repeatedly threw their guns over their heads in a curve, so that the bayonets struck the ground with the breech of their guns upward" when they were in ranks on the public square in Carthage on the evening of June 24, 1844. This quote would seem to indicate that the Carthage Greys carried bayonets.[29]

Weapons carried during the Mormon War were evidently a mixed lot. References exist to muskets, rifles, and shotguns. The Carthage Greys marched with muskets since bayonets were not common U.S. Military issue with rifles (except the Hall's rifle or carbine) until the 1850s. Muskets also seem to have been in the Nauvoo Legion's arsenal of weapons. In all likelihood any military shoulder arms used by either side in the Mormon War would have had a flintlock ignition system like the ones issued in the Black Hawk War even though percussion cap small arms were becoming commonplace. The Mormons also possessed repeating firearms. Orinn P. Rockwell in September 1845 reportedly carried one of Jonathan Browning's fifteen-shooter rifles. One of the most popular repeating guns used by the Mormons was the six-shot pepperbox pistol. Joseph Smith even had a pepperbox during his gun battle with Anti-Mormons before he was shot to death at the Carthage Jail in 1844.[30] The Mormon War reflected a transitional time in weapons technology development as well as an interface period between the old style militia forces and the new uniformed volunteer companies.

Several similarities existed, then, between the Black Hawk War and the Mormon War in terms of the participants' clothing, weapons, and food. Volunteers in both conflicts went off to battle wearing the same clothes they wore in civilian life. In both wars the militiamen often carried military issue muskets, rifles, cartridge boxes and rifle pouches left over from the War of 1812. The basic ration consumed by the men in both actions usually consisted of salted meat and hard bread. Symbols of the American Revolutionary experience permeated both struggles. Participants in both wars often wore hunting frocks

and carried military muskets that were close copies of the rifleman's frocks and French muskets originally used in the Revolutionary War. Hence, the uniforms and equipment used in the two conflicts were traditional and idiosyncratic rather than distinctive and regularized.

NOTES

[1]The two collections are Ellen M. Whitney, comp. and ed., *The Black Hawk War 1831-1832, Illinois State Historical Library Collections*, vols. 35-38 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1970-1978); and Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1976; paperback ed., 1978). These works will hereafter be cited *BHW* and *HC* respectively.

[2]Wayne C. Temple, "Lincoln's Arms, Dress and Military Duty Before, During, and After the Black Hawk War," *Illinois Libraries* 53 (January 1971): 1-9; and Harry W. Gibson, "Frontier Arms of the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Winter 1974): 4-26.

[3]For an introduction to the literature on the military in early America see John K. Mahon, *History of the Militia and the National Guard* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1983); Marcus Cunliffe, *Soldiers & Civilians: The Martial Spirit in America 1775-1865* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968); U.S. Department of Defense, Army, *American Military History*, ed. Maurice Matloff, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History United States Army, 1973); Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, enlarged ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); U.S. Department of Defense, Army, *History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army 1775-1945*, by Marvin A. Kreidberg and Merton G. Henry (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1955); U.S. Department of Defense, Army, *The Sinews of War: Army Logistics 1775-1953*, by James A. Huston (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History United States Army, 1966); Francis Paul Prucha, *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977); Louis Pelzer, *Henry Dodge* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1911); U.S. War Department, *The Military Policy of the United States* by Emory Upton ([Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office], 1904; reprint ed., New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968); "The Militia," *Army and Navy Chronicle* 9 (28 November 1839): 349; John E. Briggs, "The Enlistment of Iowa Troops During the Civil War," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 15 (July 1917): 323-392; Ruth A. Gallaher, "The Military-Indian Frontier 1830-1835," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 15 (July 1917): 393-428; Paul Tincher Smith, "Militia of the United States from 1846 to 1860," *Indiana Magazine of History* 15 (1919): 20-47; Cyril B. Upham, "Historical Survey of the Militia in Iowa 1838-1898," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 17, 18 (July 1919 and January 1920): 299-405, 3-93; Theodore G. Gronert, "The First National Pastime in the Middle West," *Indiana Magazine of History* 29 (September 1933): 171-186; H. Telfer Mook, "Training Day in New England," *New England Quarterly* 11 (December 1938): 675-697; Robert Reinders, "Militia and Public Order in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American Studies* 11 (April 1977): 81-101; John F. and Kathleen Smith Kutolowski, "Commissions and Canvasses: The Militia and Politics in Western New York, 1800-1845," *New York History* 63 (January 1982): 4-38; William L. Shea, "The First American Militia," *Military Affairs* 46 (February 1982): 15-18; John K. Mahon, "Militia in the Black Hawk War, 1831-1832," *Indiana Military History Journal* 8 (May 1983): 4-11; and Richard P. Gildrie, "Defiance, Diversion, and the Exercise of Arms: The Several Meanings of Colonial Training Days in Colonial Massachusetts," *Military Affairs* 52 (April 1988): 53-55; and Len Travers, "Hurrah for the Fourth: Patriotism, Politics, and Independence Day in Federalist Boston, 1783-1818," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 125 (April 1989): 129-161. Some printed primary source descriptions of militia musters include Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts 1679-1680* (n.p.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913; reprint ed., New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1969), 271; William Bentley, *The Dairy of William Bentley, D.D.: Pastor of the East Church Salem, Massachusetts April 1784-December, 1819*, 4 vols. (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1905-1914; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962), 1:194; 2:63, 65-66, 267, 3:255; 4:29, 205, 289, 355, 482, 619; [Thomas Hamilton], *Men and Manners in America*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, Strand, 1833; reprint ed., New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers, 1968), 1:59-69; and *HC*, 6:35.

[4]"How Miliary Titles Are Manufactured," *Army and Navy Chronicle* 10 (2 April 1840): 320.

[5]Weigley, 597.

[6]Benjamin Franklin Cooling, ed., *The New American State Papers: Military Affairs*, vol. 2 (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1979), 147; and *BHW*, 36:503.

[7]*Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois*, 1845, 36; "Militia of the United States," *Army and Navy Chronicle* 7 (18 October 1838): 253; Paul Tincher Smith, 26; and U.S. Congress, *Militia of the United States. . .*, 27th Cong., 3rd sess., 1841, H. Doc. 130, Serial 421.

[8]Isabel Jamison, "Independent Military Companies of Sangamon County in the 30's," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 3 (January 1911): 22-48; Paul M. Angle, *"Here I Have Lived": A History of Lincoln's Springfield 1821-1865* (Springfield, Illinois: The Abraham Lincoln Association, 1935), 50-51; and Arthur Charles Cole, ed., *The Constitutional Debates of 1847, Illinois State Historical Library Collections*, vol. 14 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1919), 192, 613-614.

[9]*BHW*, 36:170, 336, 338, 353, 37:662-663, 1199-1201, 1152-1156, 1182-1185; and John E. Hallwas, *Western Illinois Heritage* (Macomb, Illinois: Illinois Heritage Press, 1983), 13-20.

[10]*History of Henderson County . . .*, (Chicago: H. H. Hill and Company, Publishers, 1882; reprint ed., Aledo, Illinois: The Times Record Co., [1975, 1981]), 364. For an early description of fortifications at Rock Island and Warsaw see Lucille M. Kane, June D. Holmquist, and Carolyn Gilman, eds., *The Northern Expeditions of Stephen H. Long: The Journals of 1817 and 1823 and Related Documents* ([St. Paul]: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1978), 98-110. Some publications on fortifications are J. C. Harrington, *Archaeology and the Enigma of Fort Raleigh* (Raleigh: America's Four Hundredth Anniversary Committee, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1984), Ivor Nöel Hume, *Martin's Hundred* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1982), 150-154, 218-224, 235-239, 273; Roy Underhill, *The Woodwright's Work Book: Further Explorations in Traditional Woodcraft* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 191-199; Ann Price, "The Three Lives of Fort de Chartres: French Outpost on the Mississippi," *Historic Illinois* 3 (June 1980): 1-4; Jane F. Babson, "The Architecture of Early Illinois Forts," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 61 (Spring 1968): 9-40; Betty I. Madden, *Art, Crafts, and Architecture in Early Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 17, 22-33, 45-49; J. C. Harrington, "New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity," in *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*, ed. Robert L. Schuyler (Farmingdale, New York: Baywood Publishing Company, Inc., 1978), 91-138; Charles Morse Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire: The French and English in Western Pennsylvania: Their Armies, Their Forts, Their People 1749-1764* (n.p.: Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), Thomas C. Buckley, ed., *Rendezvous: Selected Papers of the Fourth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1981* (St. Paul, Minnesota: North American Fur Trade Conference, 1984), 131-184; Donald Jackson, "Old Fort Madison 1808-1813," *Palimpsest* 47 (January 1966): 1-62; Louis Koch, ed., *Pen in Hand: Letters from Old Fort Madison and Others Regarding the Fort 1808 to 1813 from United States Government Archives.* (Fort Madison, Iowa: North Lee County Historical Society, 1974); John Hansman, "An Archaeological Problem at Old Fort Madison," *Plains Anthropologist* 32 (August 1987): 217-231; and David W. Nystuen and Carla G. Lindeman, *The Excavation of Fort Renville: An Archaeological Report* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1969).

[11]William L. Snapp, *Early Days in Greenbush with Biographical Sketches of the Old Settlers* (Springfield, Ill.: H. W. Rokker Co., Printers and Binders, 1905; reprint ed., Roseville, Ill.: Carlberg Printing Co., n.d.), 17; John C. Dann, ed., *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 106; John Reynolds, *My Own Times: Embracing Also the History of My Life*, 2d ed. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society and Fergus Printing Company, 1879; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1968), 43; Matthew H. Jamison, *Recollections of Pioneer and Army Life* (Kansas City: Hudson Press, 1911), 10; *Du Buque Visitor*, 11 May 1836, 3 in *The Pageant of the Press: A Survey of 125 Years of Iowa Journalism 1836-1961*, by William J. Petersen (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1962), 3; George Francis Dow, *Everyday Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967), 64-66, plate 56; and James A. Hanson, *The Long Hunter's Sketch Book* (Chadron, Nebraska: The Fur Press, 1983), 2, 13-15. Samuel Chamberlain in his Mexican-American War memoir called the working frock a "smock frock" which if you look at the working frock illustrated in Dow, plate 56 it does remind one of a

modern day lab coat or smock, see Samuel E. Chamberlain, *My Confession: The Recollections of a Rogue* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1956), 102.

[12]"Military Costume," *Army and Navy Chronicle* 9 (22 August 1839): 115; John F. Grossman, *Army Uniforms at Fort Snelling, 1821-1832, Historic Fort Snelling Chronicles*, no. 1 ([St. Paul]: Minnesota Historical Society, 1974), no pagination; Jacques Noel Jacobsen, Jr., comp. and ed., *Regulations and Notes for the Uniform of the Army of the United States 1847* (Staten Island, NY: Manor Publishing, 1977), no pagination; David Nevin, *The Mexican War, The Old West Series* (Alexandria, Virginia: Time-Life Books, 1978), 44-53, 92, 95, 224-233; and Randy Steffen, *The Revolution, the War of 1812, the Early Frontier 1776-1850, The Horse Soldier, 1776-1943: The United States Cavalryman: His Uniforms, Arms, Accoutrements, and Equipments*, vol. 1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 109, 111.

[13]Steffen, 88-142.

[14]*BHW*, 36:225-226; 37:693, 1156.

[15]*BHW*, 36:25, 264, 300, 308-309; Chamberlain, 85; Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 90-107; and Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Baton Rouge: Louisian State University Press, 1978), 224-246.

[16]Frederick William Baron von Steuben, *Baron von Steuben's Revolutionary War Drill Manual: A Facsimile Reprint of the 1794 Edition* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1985), 157; and *BHW*, 36:476, 37:1053-1054. The cartridge box carried by U.S. Army regulars resembled the 1808 model box which had a wooden block that held twenty-six cartridges. The 1808 box duplicated the French box issued during the 1770s. One should also consult Wiley's books as well as Robert Lee Klinger, *Sketch Book 76: The American Soldier 1775-1781* (Union City, Tennessee: Pioneer Press, 1974); Harold L. Peterson, *The Book of the Continental Soldier: Being a Compleat Account of the Uniforms, Weapons, and Equipment with which He Lived and Fought* (n.p.: Promontory Press, 1968); A. N. Schultz, ed., *Illustrated Drill Manual and Regulations for the American Soldier of the Revolutionary War* (Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 1982); George C. Neumann and Frank J. Kravic, *Collector's Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Texarkana, Texas: Rebel Publishing Co., Inc., 1989); Francis A. Lord, *Civil War Collector's Encyclopedia: Arms, Uniforms, and Equipment of the Union and Confederacy* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1963); Kathleen A. York, *Civil War Men's Sketchbook* (Elgin, Il.: The House of York, 1988); Cyril B. Upham, "Arms and Equipment for the Iowa Troops in the Civil War," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 16 (January 1918): 3-52; Frederick P. Todd, *American Military Equipage 1851-1872 . . .* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980); Quartermaster General of the Army, *U.S. Army Uniforms and Equipment, 1889: Specifications for Clothing, Camp and Garrison Equipage, and Clothing and Equipage Materials*, forward by Jerome A. Greene (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); R. T. Huntington, *Accoutrements of the United States Infantry, Riflemen, and Dragoons 1834-1839* (Alexandria Bay, N.Y.: Museum Restoration Service, 1987); C & D Jarnagin, *C & D Jarnagin Company Trade Price List 89-A* (Corinth, Mississippi: C & D Jarnagin, n.d.); and The Mudsills, Inc., *So . . . You Think You Want to be a Mudsill* (n.p.: The Mudsills, Inc., 1985).

[17]*BHW*, 36:25, 108, 341, 605; 37:854, 1235-1239, 1241; Kane, Holmquist, and Gilman, 379; Invoice of Goods furnished for the Forks of the Iowa by S. Phelps & Co., Sept. 15, 1833, Chouteau Maffitt Manuscript Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri; Curtis L. Johnson, *A Checklist of 18th and 19th Century Illinois Gunsmiths* (York, Pa.: Geo. Shumway Publisher, 1982), 2-3; Charles E. Hanson, Jr., "Trade Goods for Rendezvous," in *The Book of Buckskinning V*, ed. William H. Scurlock (Texarkana, Texas: Rebel Publishing Company, 1989), 70; and Charles E. Hanson, Jr., *The Northwest Gun* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1955), 21-27, 45-52.

[18]Turner Kirkland, comp., *Illustrations of United States Military Arms 1776-1903 and Their Inspectors' Marks: Reprint from Bannerman's Catalog-1949* (Union City, TN: Pioneer Press, 1987), 258-259; Philip Katcher, *Armies of the American Wars 1755-1815* (New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1975), 6, 131; George C. Neumann, *The History of Weapons of the American Revolution* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1967), 72-76; and *BHW*, 37:1236.

[19]Basic published materials on the Nauvoo Legion and the Mormon War are Nauvoo Legion, *Revised Laws of the Nauvoo Legion, from the Constitution of the United States* (Nauvoo: John Taylor, Printer, 1844); Nauvoo Legion, *Rank Roll of the Nauvoo Legion* ([Nauvoo?, 1842?]); John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or, An Expose' of Joe Smith and Mormonism*,

3rd ed. (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842), 211-214; Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois, From its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* . . .(Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co., 1854; reprint ed., Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1968), 313-369, 403-436; Thomas Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois* . . . (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman & Co., 1880; reprint ed., Decorah, Iowa: The Anundsen Publishing Co., 1984), 242-378; Hamilton Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion, 1840-1845—A Unique Military Organization," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 54 (Summer 1961): 181-197; Paul Bailey, *The Armies of God* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968); John Sweeney, Jr., "A History of the Nauvoo Legion in Illinois," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974); Donald Q. Cannon, "Reverend George Moore Comments on Nauvoo, the Mormons, and Joseph Smith," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 5 (Spring 1982): 5-16; Annette P. Hampshire, "The Triumph of Mobocracy in Hancock County 1844-1846," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 5 (Spring 1982): 17-37; Hallwas, 69-76; Stanley B. Kimball, "The Nauvoo Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1846-1848," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 11 (Fall 1988): 46-54; and Roger D. Launius, "Anti-Mormonism in Illinois: Thomas Sharp's Unfinished History of the Mormon War, 1845," *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 27-45.

[20]*HC*, 6:533; Sweeney, 37, 212; and *New York Herald*, 17 June 1842, 2. Another name for Macomb's manual seems to be Cooper's manual for militia since Cooper is the one who actually compiled it under Macomb's supervision, see *Army and Navy Chronicle*, (26 May 1836), 329; and Benjamin F. Shambaugh, comp. and ed., *The Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, 7 vols. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1903-1905), 1:47, 113.

[21]Sweeney, 135; Weigley, 597; Stanley B. Kimball, "Nauvoo West: The Mormons of the Iowa Shore," *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 132-142; *HC* , 5:296; and Virginia S. Harrington and J.C. Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on Archaeological Excavations* (Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1971).

[22]Bennett, frontispiece and page facing 56.

[23]*Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois*, 1845, 372; Caroline Dunn, "Uniform of a Corydon Militia Company in 1823," *Indiana Magazine of History* 38 (March 1942): 82-83; and Brian Leigh Dunnigan, "To Make A Military Appearance: Uniforming Michigan's Militia and Fencibles," *Michigan Historical Review* 15 (Spring 1989): 29-46.

[24]Isabel Jamison, 27; and William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 127.

[25]*HC*, 6:515.

[26]Eudocia Baldwin Marsh, "Mormons in Hancock County: A Reminiscence," ed. Douglas L. Wilson and Rodney O. Davis, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 64 (Spring 1971): 62; and Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb*, 111, 115.

[27]Edward Everett, "A Narrative of Military Experience in Several Capacities: Part I, Reminiscences of the Mormon War in Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1905* (1906): 182-193; Katcher, 125; and Peter F. Copeland, *Civil War Uniforms Coloring Book* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977), 27.

[28]*HC*, 2:64; Bennett, 88-93; Warren A. Jennings, ed., "Two Iowa Postmasters View Nauvoo: Anti-Mormon Letters to the Governor of Missouri," *Brigham Young University Studies* 11 (Spring 1971): 277; "An Old Article, *Macomb Journal*, 28 July 1870, 2; and Henry Lewis, *The Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated*, trans. A. Hermina Poatgieter, ed. Bertha L. Heilbron (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1967), 243.

[29]*HC*, 6:559.

[30]Everett, 186; Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout 1844-1861*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 1:5, 122; Marsh, 61; Annette P. Hampshire, "Thomas Sharp and Anti-Mormon Sentiment in Illinois, 1842-1845," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 72 (May 1979): 92, Thomas L. Kane, "The Mormons: A Discourse Delivered Before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 26, 1850," in *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War 1846-1847*, by Daniel Tyler (n.p., 1881; reprint ed., Glorieta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1964), 66; Gordana Rezab, "The Memoir of William T. Brooking, McDonough County Pioneer (Part 2)," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 4 (Fall 1981): 136-137; and *HC*, 5:451; 6:608-618; 7:100, 446, 454, 476, 509, 543. The earliest reference to the Mormons possessing percussion cap military shoulder arms is this statement by Daniel Tyler in 1881 claiming that "On the 3rd of August [1846 at Fort

Leavenworth], companies A, B, and C [of the Mormon Battalion] drew their arms, which consisted of U.S. flint-lock muskets, with a few cap-lock yaugers for sharpshooting and hunting purposes.'' The word ''yauger'' was a nickname for the model 1841 U.S. rifle commonly known as the Mississippi, Windsor, Yager, or long-range rifle. Harper's Ferry arsenal did not start manufacturing this rifle until 1846 but Eli Whitney Jr. of New Haven, Connecticut was given a contract to produce this rifle as early as 1842. Tyler also made the statement that only the commanding officer of the Mormon Battalion wore a military uniform. Everybody else in the battalion evidently dressed in civilian clothes. For further information see Tyler, 136, 134; Gibson, 13; Garry James, ''The Mississippi Rifle from Buena Vista to Appomattox,'' *Dixie Gun Works Blackpowder Annual* (1984): 37-40, 86; and David B. Gracy II and Helen J.H. Rugeley, ''From the Mississippi to the Pacific: An Englishman in the Mormon Battalion,'' *Arizona and the West* 7 (Summer 1965): 134-135.

THE PEORIA PARTY

Robert G. Day, Sr.

On September 30, 1838, the Rev. Jason Lee, a missionary from the Oregon area, arrived in Peoria, Illinois on his way to New York. Rev. Lee and his son, Daniel, had gone to Oregon from Boston in 1833 to establish a mission in the valley of the Willamette River to christianize the native Indians. He left his mission in Oregon on March 26, 1838 and traveled down the Missouri River to the Mississippi and St. Louis by canoe. From there he traveled overland and arrived in Peoria on September 30, accompanied by five Indians, three Nez Perce and two Flatheads. On a Sunday afternoon in October Rev. Lee spoke at the Presbyterian Church on Main Street describing the work of his mission, the climate and terrain of Oregon's Willamette Valley, and the opportunities offered by the Oregon frontier.[1] He also mentioned that The Hudson Bay Co., which was owned by the English, maintained a fort and trading post in the Oregon area and to a great extent controlled the economic life of those at his mission because it was the only source of supplies, clothing and food. He encouraged those in attendance to join his mission and settle in the Oregon territory before the English gained complete control of the region.[2] Some of them did make the journey, and it is an interesting episode in the story of America's westward expansion.

Among those in Rev. Lee's audience on that October Sunday afternoon in 1838 was a young lawyer named Thomas Jefferson Farnham, a native of Vermont who had come to the Peoria area to practice law two years earlier. Farnham was convinced it was essential for Americans to emigrate to Oregon and occupy the area as permanent settlers to counteract the growing influence of the English who were expanding the operations of their Hudson Bay Co. in the Pacific Northwest.

When Rev. Lee departed for New York he left behind one of the Flathead Indians known as Indian Tom, who had become ill and decided to remin in Peoria to recuperate.[3] While he was in Peoria Indian Tom, who had adopted the name Thomas Adams, was a familiar visitor at the wagon shop where young Joseph Holman worked. As a cooper Holman became convinced from Indian Tom's glowing accounts of his native land and the abundance of salmon in the Columbia River that there was a great opportunity for a barrel maker to build containers to ship salmon back east. Other young men of Peoria, interested in seeking their fortunes on the frontier, were swayed by Rev. Lee's recommendation that Oregon was the land of opportunity. A meeting of those interested in Oregon was held on March 28, 1839 in the room of Mr. Justice Butler, at which time Thomas Jefferson Farnham addressed the group and proposed the formation of a joint stock company for the purpose of traveling to Oregon to establish a settlement of Americans. At that meeting twelve men agreed to join forces and form a company for the purpose of permanently settling in Oregon.[4] While most of those

Rev. Jason Lee. Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

Sydney Smith. Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

Francis Fletcher. Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

Joseph Holman. Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society.

in the company were motivated by the desire to acquire a personal fortune in the form of productive farm land, Farnham's purpose was to encourage Americans to settle in the area as a means of claiming it for the United States. He later wrote a book titled *Travels in the Great Northwest Prairies, the Anahauc and Rocky Mountains and the Oregon Territory.*[5] The book's introduction consisted of a twelve page treatise supporting the U.S. claim to the area. The principal basis of the claim was the U.S. acquisition of the Spanish claims going back to the year 1532 when the Spanish navy explored the northwest coast in an attempt to find a northern route between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Farnham's brief listed numerous other 16th Century Spanish expeditions claiming the land for Spain and the subsequent cessation of that land to the U.S. by Spain in the treaty of Florida in 1819.

A company was formed and Farnham was chosen its leader. Following a brief ceremony at the Courthouse Square on May 1, 1839, the group bade farewell to friends and relatives and began the long journey to what one of its members referred to as "The Promised Land." The accounts of the departure differ as to whether there were 12 or 15 men in the group. According to the May 4, 1839 issue of the *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer*[6] there were twelve young men who called themselves "The Oregon Dragoons." As the group proceeded westward, those with whom they came in contact referred to them as "The Peoria Party." Later, when they split into two separate factions, both were referred to as "The Peoria Party," and this is the name used by most accounts of the early history of Oregon.

The report of their departure in the *Peoria Register* states their destination was the Columbia River and upon arrival the party would take possession of "the most eligible points and make settlements." The claims were to be held in common by the company until they were recognized by the United States government. If any member were to leave the group his interest was to be forfeited. Each man provided the following:

A good riding horse	$75.00
A rifle, carring ball from 13 to 42 lbs.	15.00
Brace of pistols	10.00
Hunting knife	1.00
8-1/2 lbs. of powder with lead in proportion	5.00
2 woolen blankets	5.00
A pack pony to be purchased on the frontier	25.00
Contingency fund	25.00

Eliza Farnham, the wife of the leader, made a flag for the company bearing the motto "Oregon or the Grave."[7] Their route was to take them westward through Farmington and Macomb to Quincy where they were to cross the Mississippi and then to Independence, Missouri where they would acquire the additional supplies and equipment necessary for the trip.

The next official word from the group was in the form of a letter dated June 1, 1839 from Farnham to a Mr. Davis in Peoria which was reprinted in the *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer* of June 29, 1839.[8] The letter was sent from Elm Grove, Shawnee territory, about 20 miles west of the west boundary of Missouri. In that letter Farnham lists the members of the Company as Auren

Garret, T.J. Pickett, Quincy A. Jordan, Charles Yeats, J.J. Wood, Chauncy Wood, James L. Fash, Robert Moore, R.L. Kilbourn, T. Smith, J.L. Moore of Quincy, Robert Shortess of Jackson County Missouri, John Pritchard of Independence and Thomas J. Farnham. However, it appears that he overlooked one member, Obediah Oakley, which would make a total of fifteen, all of whom were in the original party except J.L. Moore of Quincy and Shortess and Pritchard from Missouri. An indication that there was some incompatibility appears in Farnham's letter following the list of members when he adds, "and, except one, of whom it would not be expected I should speak pro or con, they are most excellent men for such an expedition as ours."

Robert Shortess, who wrote a detailed account of his experience,[9] lists the members of the party as follows:

NAME	BORN	OCCUPATION	AGE
Robert Moore	Penn	Farmer	About 56
T.J. Farnham	Vermont	Lawyer	About 35
Sydney Smith	New York	Lottery Broker	About 35
Charles Yates	England	Butcher	About 30
O.A. Oakley	New York	Butcher	About 30
James Trask (Fash)	New York	Butcher	About 25
Francis Fletcher	England	Butcher	About 30
R.L. Kilbourne	Penn	Restaurant Keeper	About 30
Joseph Holman	England	Mfg. Fanning Mill	About 30
Amos Cook	Maine	Farmer	About 25
Chauncey Wood	New York	Farmer	About 25
Owen Garrett	New York	Farmer	
Thomas Pickett	Kentucky	Farmer	
Joseph Wood	England	Saddler	
J. Quinn Jordan	England	Saddler	
(John L.) Moore	England	———	
Robert Shortess	Penn	Farmer	About 36
—— Pritchel	England	Tailor	About 35
W. Blair	Arkansas	Millwright	About 50

The oldest member was Robert Moore, age 56, and the only other member over 36 was W. Blair age 50. Shortess lists Sydney Smith of New York, whose occupation was lottery broker, and this is evidently the same man referred to in Farnham's letter as T. Smith. The Shortess reference to him as Sydney Smith was correct because Smith later wrote an account using that name. As the expedition proceeded across the western prairies, Smith became a controversial member and, according to Farnham's account, was one of the causes of the dissension which was to result in the dissolution of the Company.

It is not surprising that no member of the party was shown as born in Peoria. In fact, most of them had lived there less than two years. In 1839 Peoria was little more than a frontier village. The first permanent white settler in Peoria, Josiah Fulton, arrived in 1819, only twenty years before the Peoria party was formed. In the early 1830s Peoria consisted of 21 log cabins and seven frame houses, but the town grew rapidly and by 1834 there were four churches, a flour

mill, and regular steamboat service to St. Louis.[10]

Farnham's June 1st letter to Mr. Davis mentions that they had 21 days of rain since leaving Peoria a month earlier and "a wet camp and increased and perplexing duties upon the shoulders of the commanding officer" was not conducive to letter writing. He described their route from Peoria to Farmington, Macomb and Quincy, where they crossed the Mississippi River on May 9th. They crossed the Missouri River at Lexington and reached Independence, Missouri May 21st. The letter stated they remained at Independence until May 29 before proceeding westward along the Santa Fe trail where they joined up with some Santa Fe traders with whom they intended to travel as far as the Arkansas River. There they were to meet Aude Sublette who was to send a company of his trappers with them to the forks of the Columbia River. Farnham closed his letter by stating "my own health and the health of all the company is good and the motto, "Oregon or the Grave" is still waiving o'er our tent and deeply written upon our hearts."

Although no mention is made of it in Farnham's June 1st letter, some of the members of the party were becoming discouraged with the hardship and danger of frontier life. Within a week three members would leave the company and return to Peoria. Three weeks later misfortune would strike one of the members and bring to a head the dissension and personality conflicts which were developing.

When the Peoria Party arrived at Independence, Missouri, the wagon and wagon harness were sold and additional horses and pack mules were purchased. They were advised to follow the Santa Fe trail almost due west to Bent's Fort, located in what is now southeastern Colorado, at which point they would strike north and west to Brown's Hole in the northwest corner of Colorado. Although wagons could follow the Santa Fe trail as far as Bent's Fort, the remainder of their journey was not suitable for wagons and it would be another four years before the first wagon would go from Brown's Hole to Oregon. The provisions and supplies which they purchased before leaving Independence included cloth and trinkets for barter with the Indians.

On May 29, they started West in the rain. By this time the Peoria Party consisted of 18 members mounted on horseback and seven pack mules, three of which were owned in common by the company.[11] On the morning of May 30th they discovered two horses had pulled their stakes from the wet ground during the night and were missing. It was thought the horses had returned to Independence and one member of the party rode back to get them. He returned to the group the next day with the two runaways. During the night of June 1st the same two horses again broke loose and two members were sent back to Independence for them. Later in the morning on the same day it appeared their provisions would not last until they reached the buffalo grazing grounds, so two other members were sent back to Independence for more provisions. They rejoined the group the following day with 200 pounds of flour. The party waited another two days for the men to return with the runaway horses. On June 6th they traveled through another rain storm and later in the day one of the members shot a large snapping turtle which they stopped to cook. That night the rain was so heavy it poured in under the tent.[12] The rain continued until noon the next day and on June 7 they camped for the night on the banks of the Osage River about one hundred miles West of Independence where they met a party of seven

wagons which was returning to Independence. The next morning three members, Auren Garrett, Thomas Picket and J.L. Moore of Quincy, left the Oregon Dragoons and joined the east bound wagon train to return to the comforts of civilization. On the night of June 8 they were in Indian territory and for the first time set up guards during the night. The diary written by Sydney Smith states he was on guard duty the night of June 11 and the watchword was "Columbia."[13]

On June 12th the heat was so intense the group had to dismount from their worn out horses and lead them on foot. The unbearable heat was followed by severe thunder and lightning. That night they met a large wagon train headed for Santa Fe and camped with them.

The Smith and Oakley accounts for June 8-13 mention that each day two or three members would be designated as hunters to ride ahead of the main group for the purpose of hunting game. During this period, although game such as elk and antelope were seen, the hunters were not successful in killing any until June 15 when Smith shot and killed an antelope, the first meat they had eaten in two days. The Oakley and Smith accounts both refer to the violent electrical storms which plagued the group at that time. On June 13 they met Charles Bent of Bent's Fort whose wagon train consisted of 30 men and 10 wagons. They were also driving 200 head of sheep enroute to Santa Fe. On June 14 the advance hunting party was the first to reach the Little Arkansas River, which was so swollen they were not able to cross. The men had fishing lines and soon caught 12 catfish and proceeded to build a fire and roast one on the spot. Later that afternoon the hunting party met three members of the Bent caravan who had been sent back by Mr. Bent to recover some mules and horses which had escaped. They had not been successful in recovering the horses and had not eaten for three days. The Oregon Dragoon hunters gave them one of their catfish which they immediately cooked and ate.

They forded the Little Arkansas on June 15 near the site of present day McPherson, Kansas. The following night they captured the 37 mules and horses which had been lost by the Bent wagon train. They had assured Mr. Bent they would return them to his fort if they found them and herded them along with their own horses and mules until they reached Bent's Fort. On June 18 Jordon and Fletcher, who had the best horses, came upon seven buffalo bulls and after chasing one 2 1/2 miles succeeded in bringing it down. According to the Oakley account, the bull weighed 900 pounds and produced 300 pounds of meat after it was dressed. This was the first buffalo meat they had eaten, and Oakley states that the members agreed it was the best meat any of them had ever eaten. This meat was "jerked" and provided the party with food for the next six days.

Smith's account of June 18 states there were about one thousand Indians camped near them that evening. Some of the Indians of the Caw tribe came to their camp that evening and wanted to trade with them, including one who wanted to sell his squaw.

The hunters who had shot the buffalo on June 18 were miles ahead of the main party and had been separated from it for six days. It was not until the next day, June 19, that they returned with the buffalo meat and remainder of the catfish. The evening of the 19th they met a Santa Fe wagon train enroute to Santa Fe, and all camped together at Pawnee Fork, near present day Larned, Kansas.

Both companies traveled together on June 20, and the Peoria hunters killed another buffalo. While they were dressing the animal, some Caw Indians came upon them and purchased some articles, including a butcher knife, which had been purchased in Independence for 25 cents which sold for $1.50. The price of the other articles sold was in proportion.

On June 21 an incident occurred which presented a serious problem for the entire party. Sydney Smith's diary simply states, "I was shot the ball entering the point of the 7th rib and was taken out at the root of the 4 falls rib after cutting of the tips of the same."[14] Farnham's account mentions he was away from the camp at the time the accident occurred; that there had been petty bickering between two of the most quarrelsome of the company; that the injury occurred while they were breaking camp in the morning when a dispute arose between said members as to their relative moral honesty in something that had occurred in the past. Words ran high and abusive as the two argued inside the tent. When those on the outside loosened the ropes to strike the tent, the younger of the two men (Smith), filled with wrath at his opponent, demonstrated his strong feelings on the subject by yanking his rifle by the muzzle as he jerked it from his baggage. The hammer caught on the baggage and discharged the gun into his side.[15] Oakley's account[16] is similar and states that while Smith was packing his belongings inside the tent he pulled his gun toward him; the hammer caught on his saddle and he was shot in the side.

The Shortess account,[17] written several years later, states he was absent at the time, having gone in search of some mules, but that eye-witnesses advised him a wordy war broke out between the men while packing in the morning and one of them seized his rifle by the muzzle and pulled it toward him with a jerk. The hammer was tangled with his saddle and the gun discharged; the bullet glancing off a button on his trousers, fracturing his rib and stopping inside his skin near the back.

Dr. Walworth was traveling with the Santa Fe party which had left the camp area earlier, and according to the Oakley account, he, Oakley, had caught Smith as he fell and then hastened to get Dr. Walworth, who by that time was five miles ahead. He and the surgeon returned with a wagon and Dr. Walworth removed the bullet and dressed the wound. They then made a bed in the wagon for Smith. The disaster delayed their departure until noon and they traveled until midnight hoping to rejoin the Santa Fe party. Oakley mentions their progress was impeded by great herds of buffalo, which were as thick as sheep in the field and sometimes would not move until the travelers were within 10 feet of them. They finally overtook the Santa Fe party the next morning. Farnham drove the wagon carrying Smith who was exhausted by pain and fatigue.

Farnham mentions that in the afternoon of June 22 the high chief of the Caw Indians visited them. The chief examined Smith's wound, poured water into the bullet hole and, after noticing it came out the bullet hole in his back, assured them the bullet had not entered the chest cavity.[18] The chief evidently prescribed a salve for the wound because Farnham's journal of June 23 states the Chief's salve kept the wound soft and prevented inflammation.

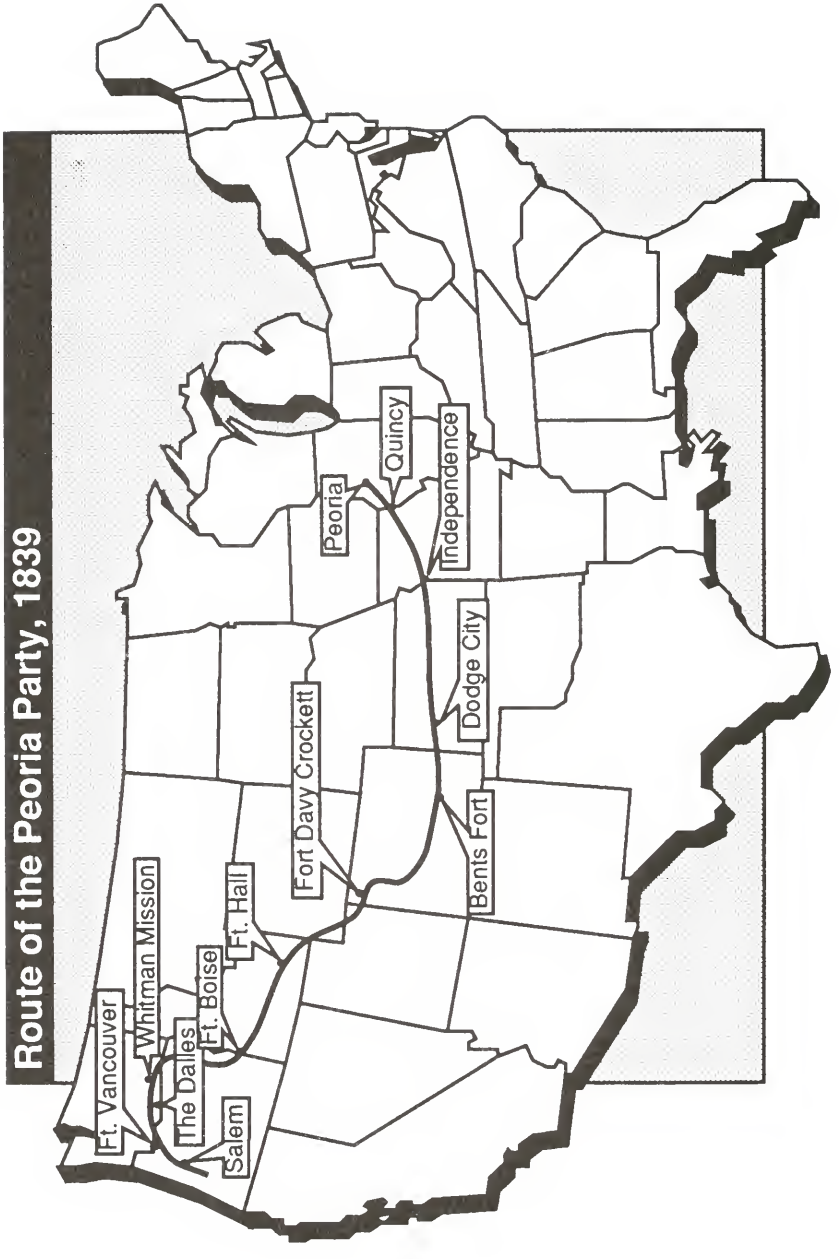
Oakley states that on June 22 they traveled through buffalo herds for 15 miles; that the landscape was black with buffalo in every direction and they numbered in the hundreds of thousands. On the night of June 22 they party was battered

by another rain and thunderstorm with wind so strong it broke their tent pole. The storm continued the next day and their clothing and gear were soaking wet. Buffalo were as numerous as they were the previous day and Farnham estimated the herd covered 1350 square miles during the three day period they traveled through it. On June 25 and 26 they followed the course of the Arkansas River and during this time Smith, who was being transported in the wagon, was very weak and in great pain. On June 24, 25 and 26 Oakley mentions that there was rain and wind each night.

Farnham's account states he drove the wagon and cared for Smith from the time of his injury through June 24th, at which time he left him with his excellent lieutenant (presumably Oakley) and returned to his main company for the purpose of guiding them to the crossing of the Arkansas River.

On June 27, they crossed the Arkansas nineteen miles west of present day Dodge City and waited for the Santa Fe party and the wagon in which Smith was being carried. While waiting for the Santa Fe party to meet them at the Arkansas, at which point it would turn south to Santa Fe and the Oregon Dragoons would go northwest toward Bent's Fort, Quincy Jordan, Chauncey Wood, and John Pritchard decided to leave the expedition and return to their homes via Santa Fe by accompanying the Santa Fe Party. Oakley gives their reason for leaving as "dissatisfaction arising from disagreement with the rest of the party."[19] One member of the Santa Fe Party, William Blair, decided to cast his lot with the Peoria Party and joined the Dragoons.

Farnham in his Journal under the date of June 27 refers to a "mutiny" in the ranks which occurred June 27 and states that while the party was waiting for the Santa Fe group at "the crossing," which was the place where both parties would cross the Arkansas River and then separate each going their own way, "certain individuals of my company" who had wanted to leave Smith to perish in the camp at the time he was shot, now wanted to turn him over to the Santa Fe Group.[20] Smith was still being transported in the wagon which belonged to the Santa Fe party and the wagon would have to be returned to them at the time the two groups separated. Apparently the progress of the Peoria party was hampered by caring for the injured man. Reading between the lines of the various accounts, we can ascertain that Smith was not a respected or popular person with the group. Farnham states that a majority of the company was in favor of requesting the Santa Fe group to take Smith with them to Santa Fe. The route of the Oregon Dragoons would take them through an area of unfriendly Indians, and the delay caused by the care required by the injured man could jeopardize the safety of the entire group. Farnham asked the Santa Fe group to take Smith with them, but his request was denied for the reason that Smith would be at a serious disadvantage in Santa Fe because he could not speak the language. The Santa Fe members also told Farnham that Smith was a member of his group and was entitled to the protection of his own comrades. When Farnham reported this to the "mutineers," they suggested that Smith be left in the wagon and that they secretly take off through the mountains knowing the Santa Fe group would not abandon him. In Farnham's opinion, had this been done, Smith would not have been abandoned by the Santa Fe group but would have been taken care of until he recovered, but he and others felt such an act of ingratitude toward those who had been kind enough to provide a doctor and a wagon to care for


Route of the Peoria Party, 1839
Ft. Vancouver
Whitman Mission
The Dalles
Ft. Boise
Ft. Hall
Salem
Fort Davy Crockett
Peoria
Quincy
Independence
Dodge City
Bents Fort

Smith would be unjustified. C. Wood, Jordan, Oakley, J. Wood, Blair and Farnham all felt that "however unworthy Smith might be" they were bound by their original agreement to protect each other, and they could neither abandon him to the wolves nor leave him to the members of the Santa Fe party against their wishes.[21] Some of the men made a litter which could be pulled by two mules on which Smith could be transported. Farnham then went to the trader's camp about five miles away to get Smith who was in the wagon. In the early evening he and Smith started to return to their own camp, but darkness overtook them and Farnham lost his way and had to camp overnight before returning to the group the next morning. The wagon was then returned to the trader's camp. When they attempted to put Smith on the makeshift litter, it was apparent it could not satisfactorily carry the injured man. The camp had been struck and the so-called mutineers were mounted and ready to travel. They did not want to delay their departure because they were in the vicinity of unfriendly "Cumanche" Indians. The Santa Fe party had left and was ten miles away on the other side of the river. Two men, Chauncey Wood and John Pritchard, who had sided with Farnham in deciding to assume responsibility for Smith, had gone with the Santa Fe group planning to return to Peoria. Farnham and others then got the gentlest mule in the party, carefully eased Smith into the saddle, and were underway about eleven o'clock in the morning. Farnham states that one of the principal mutineers, "a hard faced villain of no honest memory among the traders upon the Platte," assumed to guide and command the party. When this version of the incident is read in the light of the Shortess account, it is apparent the "hard faced villain" who assumed command was Shortess. Farnham states said person's "malice towards Smith was of the bitterest character" and "with a grin upon his long and withered physiognomy, that shadowed out the fiendish delight of a heart long incapable of better emotions, he drove at a rate which none but a man in health could have long endured." Farnham states his motives were easily understood. If he and those who were to look after Smith fell behind, Shortess would be rid of the injured man "whose presence seemed to be a living evidence of his murderous intentions, thwarted and cast back blistering upon his already sufficiently foul character." Farnham's account states that if Smith and those who were caring for him were destroyed by the Cumanche Indians "who were prowling around our way," the "blackness of his heart might be hidden, awhile at least, from the world." He further charges the rapid pace and extreme heat were very hard on the injured man; that he fainted once and nearly fell from the saddle, "all to the delight of the self-constituted leader who belaboured his own horse unmercifully" and quoted Richard's soliloquy "with a satisfaction and emphasis, which seemed to say, "the winter of his discontent had passed away, as well as that of his ancient prototype in villany."[22] During the day some of the men had killed a buffalo and a fine steak and a night's rest cheered Smith for a long ride the following day. On the 28th they traveled twenty-five miles under a burning sun, and Smith with a high fever. His three broken ribs (according to Farnham's account) required the greatest attention from his friends. In referring to Smith, Farnham states, "Base though he was in everything that makes a man estimable and valuable to himself and others, Smith was really an object of pity and the most assiduous care." "Everthing indeed that his friends (no not his friends, for he was incapacitated to attach either the good or the bad

to his person, but those who commiserated his condition), could do, was done to make him comfortable."[23] Farnham has words of praise for Blair, who had left the Santa Fe Group and joined them, and wrote that regardless how tired Blair might be at the end of a day's ride he would look after Smith, dress his wounds, and sleep near him at night to be of assistance when needed.

In his journal entry for June 30, Farnham continues to heap abuse on Shortess. "This morning the miscreant who acted as leader exchanged horses, that he might render it more difficult for Smith to keep in company. During the day's march said miscreant continued to quote Shakespeare. If there be ears of him about the ugly world, to hear his name bandied by boobies, and his immortal verse mangled by barbarians in civilized clothing, those ears stood erect, and his dust crawled with indignation, as this savage in nature and practice discharged from his polluted mouth the inspirations of his genius."

Under date of July 1 Farnham refers to a quarrel among the mutineers in camp that evening. The subject of the quarrel was one he had heard many times before and was that of the moral merits of the members of the company, each man citing evidence to prove himself a great and pure man. But Farnham states that their "distinguished leader, who claimed to be the only one in the group who had ever seen the plains and mountains, also stole a horse and rifle from his employers, opened and plundered a "cache" of goods, and ran back to the states with well-founded pretensions to an honeest character." The following day while preparing and jerking some meat, "our man of the stolen rifle recounted some of the exploits of his past life and stated that he had entertained serious intentions of killing some of the men who had left the party."

Three days later on July 5 the Dragoons reached Bent's Fort, also known as Fort William. Here the company disbanded, the common property was divided among the members, and each man was left to his own resources. Bent's Fort was located in what is now southeastern Colorado about seven miles east of present day La Junta, Colorado. It was owned by the three Bent brothers who were engaged in trading primarily between the mountain men and the populace of the Santa Fe area.

Because of the serious accusations in the Farnham account concerning the problem caring for Smith following the separation of the Peoria Party from the Santa Fe trading group, it behooves us to examine the accounts of other members of the party. Farnham compiled his journal while en route and carried it in a knapsack across his shoulder. Until the time of his injury, Smith also made notes en route. The other accounts were written later. In Oakley's case, his account was written after he returned to Peoria in the fall of 1839. The Shortess account was written several years after he had become established in Oregon although he, Fletcher, Cook, Holman and Kilburn did write a letter dated September 3, 1840 which was published in the *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazetteer* on June 25, 1841 giving their version of the matter contrary to the accounts of Farnham and Oakley.

Oakley states that when it became necessary to return the wagon to the Santa Fe Party and attempt to carry Smith on the makeshift litter it was Shortess and one other member who suggested they leave Smith behind to perish.[24] There were thirteen members in the party at the time, and all but five voted in favor of Shortess' "diabolical suggestion"; one of them carried his inhumanity so far

as to refuse Smith a drink of water from his canteen." The five members who refused to abandon Smith agreed to carry him forward at all hazards. This disagreement culminated in the decision to disband the company and divide the property when they reached Bent's Fort. Oakley states they were greeted with pleasure when they arrived at Bent's Fort and those in charge were pleased with the return of the lost horses and mules which they brought with them. The return of the horses was especially appreciated because two or three days prior to their arrival a group of "Cumanche" Indians had come upon some members of the fort, killed one of the guards and stole 37 horses. The slain man was a Spaniard, one of 18 men garrisoned at the fort, and was killed by three Cumanche arrows. The man in charge of the fort gave the party two mules and 200 pounds of flour to show his appreciation for the return of his horses and mules.

Oakley states that Farnham, Smith, Wood, Blair and himself decided to travel no farther with Shortess and Moore because they considered them "persons in whom no confidence could be placed."

Shortess wrote his account some time after reaching Oregon and states that before arriving at the crossing of the Arkansas River, (which according to Farnham's account would have been June 26), Farnham "in consequence of intemperance and neglect of duty, had entirely lost all influence or authority, and every one did what was right in his eyes." At that time Farnham was accused of incompetency and waste of funds placed in his hands and resigned as leader. He narrowly escaped expulsion along with two others "who had become obnoxious to the party," but they were permitted to stay with the company until they reached Bent's Fort. Shortess states they spent a day trying to devise a litter for Smith but were not successful and then placed him on the gentlest mule and detailed three men to attend him "toiling slowly under a burning sun over sandy plains."[25] They remained at Bent's Fort about a week, divided the property held in common, and three men were voted out, Farnham, Smith, and Oakley. Blair and Joseph Wood chose to go with them and they left under the guidance of Kelly, the trapper, following the north bank of the Arkansas River. Shortess and seven others followed the same river about sixty miles north to the South Platte and reached "the spot where the City of Denver now stands."[26] They then traveled down the South Platte to St. Vrain's Fort.

After Oakley returned to Peoria his account of his experiences with the Peoria Party must have appeared in *The National Intelligencer* of November 23, 1839 because that publication is referred to in a letter dated September 3, 1840 from "Wallamet" Oregon signed by Shortess, Fletcher, Holman, Cook and Kilburn. A copy of this letter was published in the *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazetteer* of June 23, 1841 under the title "News From The Peoria Oregonians." The purpose of the letter from Shortess and the others was to correct some of the alleged misstatements in the Oakley account. The letter states almost every part of the Oakley statement concerning Smith's accident was untrue. Shortess asserted that Oakley did not catch Smith in the act of falling at the time the gun was discharged because Oakley was not in the tent at the time, nor did Smith fall; Oakley was not the person who went for the surgeon, Dr. Waldo, whom Oakley improperly called Wadsworth, and the doctor did not come back to the scene in his wagon; he came back on horseback, and the wagon was brought back by C. Wood, the person who went for the doctor. The Shortess letter

contends the Oakley account of the dispute at the crossing when Farnham lost command was incorrect; that Farnham did not throw up his command "in consequence of the mutinous spirit of part of the company, growing out of the deplorable condition of Smith." He lost his command because of his utter want of qualifications for the command and his (Farnham's) conduct would have caused him to be deprived of his command some time previous if Mr. Shortess would have accepted it. At the crossing Shortess was chosen as leader, and, he states, "having reduced matters to something like order, the company proceeded more harmoniously than they had hitherto done, to the extreme mortification of Farnham and one or two others." The letter goes on to state "Smith had as good attendance as circumstances of the company would admit, Blair and Farnham being appointed to attend exclusively to him, and the story of his being neglected or any propositions being made to leave him to perish in the prairie, is a base calumny." Furthermore the "spirit of disaffection" which caused the breakup of the party at Bent's Fort was caused by the "low intriguing disposition of Farnham, Oakley, and Smith and resulted in their expulsion from the company." The letter states that the clue to Oakley's slanders is shown by his ignorance of the geography of the country in referring to the Green River as a branch of the Columbia when it is in fact a branch of the Colorado. Oakley's statement, that after leaving Bent's Fort they found the Shortess party on the south fork of the Platte and all their horses had been stolen by the Indians was untrue. The Shortess letter states only four out of fourteen horses had been stolen and the Shortess group was not held up because of the loss of horses but because they were waiting for a guide.

Smith's account understandably makes no mention of the dispute at the crossings and later at Bent's Fort. Holman's account of the expedition, given in an interview in 1878, makes no reference to the dispute nor does Cook's brief reminiscences.[27] No account was written by Fletcher, Kilbourne, Moore or Blair, however, for what it is worth, it must be noted that Holman, Cook, Fletcher and Kilbourne signed the letter of September 3, 1840 which was probably written by Shortess.

The conflicting reports of Farnham and Oakley, on one side, and Shortess and those who joined in his letter, on the other, are such that it will never be known exactly what occurred at The Crossings on July 28, 1839 and on the ensuing days at Bent's Fort. It appears that two strong personalities, those of Farnham and Shortess, contributed to the dispute. The hardships of traveling for days in rain and stormy weather, the scarcity of food at times, and the ever present fear of Indian attack would tend to exacerbate any dissatisfaction in the ranks of men experiencing for the first time the hardships and discomfort of frontier travel. Farnham, who was the organizer and chosen leader in Peoria, was not an experienced frontiersman, and undoubtedly his lack of experience became known as the group proceeded farther from civilization into Indian territory. They could rely on the ability of the leaders of the Santa Fe group until the time came to part company at The Crossings. At that point they realized they were in hostile Indian country, and undoubtedly in the back of the minds of the members was a feeling of insecurity and apprehension caused by the departure of the Santa Fe wagon train. They all realized the injured Smith would impede their progress. The fact that he apparently was an unpopular member

of the group did not help matters. Farnham's characterization of Smith is extremely unfavorable and if we can judge from Farnham's description of Shortess's attitude toward Smith, Shortess thought less of him than Farnham. We know nothing of Farnham's character or personality other than from his journal and Shortess's criticism of his leadership ability. However, it must have been a serious blow to his pride when the group voted him out as leader and chose Shortess to lead them when they left The Crossings. After this occurred, Shortess's letter states, Blair and Farnham were appointed to attend Smith. Farnham's complaints about the speed which Shortess traveled is understandable. He was unhappy in being deprived of his command and detailed to look after Smith and had difficulty keeping up with the main group in an area of hostile Indians.

It is interesting to note that Farnham's invectives against Shortess includes condemnation of his habit of quoting Shakespeare's soliloquy of Richard III and he states that Shakespeare's immortal verse was discharged from the polluted mouth of Shortess. One wonders why Shortess would be quoting Shakespeare as they rode over the sandy plains in the suffocating heat. Perhaps it was to relieve his mind of the monotony and discomfort of their journey. Farnham's criticism and belittling of said quotations by Shortess is but one example of the incompatibility of those two men.

Because of the Indian menace Shortess may have felt this responsibility for the entire party necessitated proceeding to Bent's Fort as quickly as possible. The extreme heat on the sandy plains over which they traveled must have been uncomfortable to all members but Shortess cannot be blamed for those conditions. Shortess was the only member who had frontier experience, and it may be that he was more aware of the importance of reaching Bent's Fort as quickly as possible than was Farnham and the others.

The vote of the members to change the leadership from Farnham to Shortess was either a mutiny or a justifiable rebellion depending on whose version is read. In any event, the animosity between the two factions was serious enough to cause the dissolution of the original plan, which was to operate as a joint enterprise with each member owning an undivided interest in the venture and when the Dragoons reached Bent's Fort they divided into two groups. Four members, Oakley, Joseph Wood, Blair and Smith, chose to stay with Farnham, and seven members, Holman, Fletcher, Cook, Kilbourne, Moore, Yates and Trask (Fash), stayed with Shortess.

Farnham, Oakley, Joseph Wood, Smith and Blair, led by a mountain man named Kelly, left Bent's Fort on July 12 and crossed the Colorado front range, then proceeded north through the Colorado parks between the mountains. They stopped at Fort El Pueblo five miles up the Arkansas from Fort Bent, where they purchased a supply of dog meat from Indians at the fort before continuing northward with Fort Davy Crockett in Brown's Hole as their destination. This route took them east of Pike's Peak near present day Colorado Springs thence through South Park to the South Platte River. On August 1 they crossed the Colorado River near present day Kremmling. On August 2 they cooked the last of their meat for their noon meal and while they were eating three men came to their camp. The three visitors led by a Capt. Craig joined them for dinner. One of the men greeted Smith with, "How do you do Mr. Carroll?" Whereupon

Smith called him aside and spoke to him privately and thereafter the visitors referred to him as Smith.[28] Later the same day they met trappers, Burns, and Ward, accompanied by an Indian woman. These three joined them for their evening meal of nettles and sweet briers which was the only food available. During the next two days the three traveled with them through the Yampa River Valley toward Steamboat Springs. On the third day they stopped to hunt and killed an elk, several ducks, and caught some trout. One of the trappers killed two beavers. At that time they had been without food for three days, and because of the scarcity of game it was necessary to ration it as they were still some eight days from Fort Davy Crockett at Brown's Hole. The trappers told them they had been attacked by Indians near Brown's Hole. Smith exchanged his horse for two of theirs. They covered 80 miles in the next four days and succeeded in killing two bear cubs just as their supply of meat was running out. Three days later they reached the Little Bear River (now the Yampa River). They crossed the Little Snake River on August 11 in hot sultry weather and traveled over terrain consisting of sand and rocks until 10 o'clock that night in search of water but found none until the morning of August 12. They reached Fort Davy Crockett on the Green River in the northwest corner of Colorado on August 13.

Fort Davy Crockett in Brown's Hole was a trading center for early fur trappers and could accommodate thirty men and their families within its protecting walls. Around the outside of the fort were teepees and lodges which provided winter quarters for the Snake Indians.[29]

Oakley states they purchased enough meat from the Indians to provide two meals. When that was gone the only other meat available was dog meat and this they purchased from the Indians at the exhorbitant rate of $15 per dog.[30] The Indians apparently raised dogs as a source of meat.

On the 17th of August they planned to leave for Fort Hall on the Snake River about 300 miles away in what is now eastern Idaho. They had been advised by Mr. St. Clair, one of the owners of Fort Davy Crockett, that they would not be able to proceed any farther than Fort Hall because of winter weather, and if they stayed at Fort Hall during the winter months they would probably be compelled to eat their horses because there was no game to be had in the vicinity at that time of the year. Oakley, after considering these facts, realized they could not reach Oregon until spring, and admitted the outlook was gloomy. They were packed and ready to leave Fort Davy Crockett when they noticed a party of travelers coming from the west headed toward the fort. They decided to wait for them before leaving and, when they arrived, learned they were a party of five persons led by Paul Richardson. They had come from Fort Hall and were returning to the Midwest. Richardson told them he had lived in Oregon for two years and had little good to report concerning the quality of the soil for farming; and he stated there were droughts seven months of the year and incessant rain the other five months. He informed them the Indians and the few white men there had ague and billious fever the year around and the inhabitants were plagued by mosquitos. His description of the Oregon area was so discouraging that Oakley and Wood decided to join the Richardson party and return to their homeland in Illinois. They shook hands with Farnham, Smith and Blair, who planned to go to Fort Hall and spend the winter there, before going on to Oregon in the spring. Oakley, Wood and the Richardson group headed east following the Platte

River and met Shortess and those traveling with him at Fort St. Vrain where they had been for forty-two days. Two months after they had left Bent's Fort Oakley and Wood returned and stayed for two days to rest and get provisions. They then traveled along the Arkansas River back to Missouri and at Westport, near the present day boundary between Missouri and Kansas, Oakley and Wood parted company. Wood stayed in Westport and Oakley went to Fort Osage on the Missouri River where he boarded a steamboat and five days later arrived in St. Louis. He then traveled by boat back to Peoria arriving on November 3rd.

Farnham's two faithful companions, Obediah Oakley and Joseph Wood, were packed and ready to accompany him, Smith and Blair to Fort Hall when Richardson's discouraging account of the perils of traveling between Fort Davy Crockett and Oregon and his unfavorable report on the climate and farming prospects in Oregon convinced them to return to the midwest. Their departure was a sad occasion for Farnham, who described this unhappy event as follows: "It was painful therefore to part with them at a time when their services were most needed. Alone in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, a traveller through the range of the Blackfeet war parties, in bad health, no men save poor old Blair, and the worse than useless vagabond Smith, alias Carroll, to aid me in resisting these savages: I felt alone."[31]

Farnham considered spending the winter at Fort Davy Crockett but realized that if he did it would not be possible for him to return to the States until the next year. This is the first mention on his part that he did not intend to become a permanent settler in Oregon. He decided to proceed to Oregon realizing his journey would be difficult if not impossible during the winter months.

He, Smith, Blair, and an Indian guide named Jim left Fort Davy Crockett on August 19 for the three hundred mile trip to Fort Hall. Their provisions consisted of a quantity of bulberry which were abundant in the valley of Brown's Hole, a dog which had been butchered, and two pounds of buffalo meat. The next day the Indian guide killed an antelope which weighed about forty pounds and with this preferred meat they discarded the dog meat.

On August 22 the guide was first to notice a lone horseman coming their way, which they assumed was a hostile Indian scout. As the stranger came closer, Jim, the Indian guide, galloped out from their hiding place in the underbrush and greeted the stranger warmly. The stranger was the famous mountain man, Joseph L. Meek, who was returning to Brown's Hole to meet his Indian wife at Fort Davy Crockett.[32] Meek mentioned he had lost a white horse the previous day and asked them to look for it and if they found it to return it to Fort Hall. They found Meek's horse on the 29th and took it with them to the fort. They arrived at Fort Hall the latter part of August and were greeted by a Mr. Walker, the Hudson Bay Co. agent in charge of the fort, and were served a flagon of old Jamaica, wheaten bread, newly churned butter and buffalo tongues.

They exchanged their tired horses for fresh ones and obtained provisions of dried buffalo meat, sugar, cocoa, tea and corn meal. With another guide Farnham, Smith and Blair left on September 4th for Fort Walla Walla. Their competent guide was a member of the Flathead tribe and had been employed for many years by The Hudson Bay Company. They arrived at Fort Boisais some fifty miles from present day Boise, Idaho, about the middle of September. Fort Boisais was owned and operated by The Hudson Bay Company and did a thriving

fur trading business with the Indians.[33]

Eighteen days later on the afternoon of September 22 they met a Skyuse Indian who was traveling with his wife and two sons to the Dr. Whitman mission on the North bank of the Walla Walla River near the present city of the same name. Farnham's account states that when he learned the Indian family was going to Dr. Whitman's mission he "determined to leave the cavalcade and accompany him there."

Farnham makes no further reference to his separation from Smith and Blair other than to state he left the "cavalcade." He and his Indian companions arrived at Dr. Whitman's mission on the Walla Walla River on September 23. Farnham then went from the Whitman mission down the Walla Walla River to the Columbia and then to the mission at The Dalles arriving there on October 5. He traveled down the Columbia with Daniel Lee, the nephew of Jason Lee, and stopped at the principal Hudson Bay Station at Fort Vancouver where he met Dr. John McLoughlin and other officials of that company. Fort Vancouver was the headquarters of the Hudson Bay Co. in the northwest and was located on the north bank of the Columbia River opposite present day Portland. Farnham's account is complimentary to the officials of The Hudson Bay Company during the time of his stay at the Fort. When he left Fort Vancouver he proceeded up the Willamette valley as far as the Jason Lee mission and spent approximately one month in the valley. While he was there several Americans complained to him about the lack of protection and interest of the U.S. government in the area. They advised him that they were at the mercy of The Hudson Bay Company for supplies, which company, with its vast resources was driving out the American fur traders. The Hudson Bay Company had even begun to force its law on the settlers and was making arrests for debts and crimes and in some cases sending violators to jails in Canada.[34] The Americans asked Farnham to carry a petition back to Washington requesting the Federal government to extend its protection to their interests. Farnham agreed to take their petition with him and see that it was presented to Congress.

Farnham originally planned to spend the winter in Oregon and return to the States with traders employed by the American Fur company however he learned he could not depend on the representatives of that Company for his return. He then returned to the Hudson Bay post at Fort Vancouver, where he was advised one of their ships would be going to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) and would then come back to California. He arranged for passage on that ship, and after a perilous journey down the Columbia to Astoria on the coast, boarded ship on December 4, 1839 and sailed for the Sandwich Islands.[35]

After Farnham left the "cavalcade" consisting of Smith and Blair on September 22, Blair and Smith arrived at the Whitman mission a few days later.[36] Blair, who was a millwright, decided to spend the winter at the Whitman mission and was employed in constructing a mill. He proceeded to the Willamette valley the following spring.

Smith's journal states that "we" arrived at Fort Walla Walla on September 23. Fort Walla Walla was on the Columbia River at the site of present day Wallula, Washington. It was there that he and Blair separated and Blair went east to the Whitman mission. Smith's journal states that on September 24th at Fort Walla Walla he attempted to get passage on a Columbia river boat, which

was taking a load of beaver pelts to Fort Vancouver. The boat was loaded and carried 18 men, women and children, and he was unable to obtain passage. Smith stayed at the Hudson Bay Fort Walla Walla post until September 26. The Hudson Bay representative in charge, V.C. Pembrone, not only was a "fine sociable and agreeable gentleman" but also provided him with books to read.[37] On September 26 Smith started out with an Indian guide to finish his journey. He traveled by land down the Columbia River valley and met many Indians along the way with their horses loaded with salmon. He reports that on September 29 he had plenty of fresh salmon which he purchased at a cheap price of one load powder and ball for a small salmon and two loads for a large salmon. The Indians were very friendly. He reached the mission at The Dalles on September 30 and stayed at the house of Rev. Perkins, who, with his wife were friendly and hospitable. Smith described the country through which he traveled between Fort Walla Walla and Rev. Perkins' Mission at The Dalles as "one continued desert over precipices, sand hills, Rocks and Banks of Drifted Sand."[38] On October 1st and 2nd he helped raise a house at the mission, which was the first frame house he had seen in the Oregon territory. He described it as 20 by 30 feet and 1-1/2 stories high. Still at the mission on Sunday October 6, he attended "Devine Services" both in English and Indian and reported the Indians were attentive and some were well dressed, and added that "they are all thieves from the oldest to the youngest there is not an honest hair in their heads."[39]

Smith left the mission at The Dalles on October 7 and recorded nothing more until October 11 when he continued his journey to the "Promised Land through the valley of the Shadow of Death" and that day traveled fifteen miles and camped on the bank of the Columbia River. He traveled with an Indian guide over rough land in view of Mount St. Helen, Mt. Hood and Mt. Adams. On October 13 his sunset view of Mt. Hood was one of the most splendid sights that "I ever saw in my life." On October 16 he camped on the Clackamus prairie near Sandy River and the following day reached the Clackamus River. On October 18 he traveled twenty miles and stayed at the cabin of an old Frenchman named O.B. Shaw. His journal ends on Saturday October 19, 1840 when he arrived at the home of Thomas J. Hubbards. The final entry in his journal dated November 15 describes a beautiful rainbow which he had seen in bright moon light.

Thus, of the five members who made up the Farnham faction, three, namely Farnham, Smith and Blair, made it to Oregon.

The Shortess group consisted of seven members in addition to himself, and when they separated from Farnham and his four followers at Bent's Fort on July 11, they traveled north along the east side of the Colorado front range to the South Platte River at a point near present Denver. They followed the South Platte downstream to Fort St. Vrain, which was owned and operated as a partnership between Charles Bent and Ceran St. Vrain. Shortess and his group waited there for six weeks for another party to arrive, which they intended to join for the purpose of traveling to Brown's Hole.[40] While waiting for the arrival of the other party, four of them went on a buffalo hunt to obtain a supply of meat. The second morning of the hunt they met two Sioux Indians, who were exhausted from traveling on foot, returning from a battle against the Pawnees and Omahas. The Indians stayed with them that day and night and left the next

morning. The following morning, when the Shortess party awakened, seven of their horses were missing.

While the Shortess group was waiting at Fort St. Vrain for the arrival of the other westward bound party, two members decided to leave the group. James L. Fash (a.k.a. Trask) returned to Peoria and Charles Yates went to New Mexico. Robert Moore decided to spend the winter at Fort St. Vrain and wait for spring before resuming his journey.

It was September before the other party arrived, and Shortess and the remaining four members traveled with the other party via the Cache La Poudre River to the Laramie River and crossed the continental divide to the Little Snake River. Then they proceeded by way of the Yampa River to the Green River into Brown's Hole.

At Fort Crockett in Brown's Hole they met Dr. Robert Newell and Joseph L. Meek, both famous trappers and mountain men. Newell and Meek were going to Fort Hall to market their furs and advised the Peoria party it would be impossible for them to reach Oregon that winter. Holman, Fletcher, Cook and Kilbourne decided to spend the winter at Brown's Hole at Fort Crockett. They built a cabin and settled in until spring. Shortess continued on and accompanied Newell and Meek to Fort Hall a distance of some 300 miles. The Shortess account does not give the date of their departure from Fort Crockett, but it must have been during the last week in September or early October. They waited until the snow melted in the lower elevations before leaving and then followed the Green River and Henry's Fork to Black's Fork to the area where Fort Bridger was later built. From there they followed the Bear River northwesterly across the southwest corner of Wyoming to Soda Springs in eastern Idaho; thence north to the Snake River, and arrived at Fort Hall eleven days after leaving Fort Crockett. Fort Hall, located in Idaho near present day Pocatello, was owned by the Hudson Bay Company, and Shortess speaks highly of Frank Ermatinger, the Englishman in charge of the Fort. After a few days rest, having sold their furs and purchased their supplies, Newell and Meek left to return to Fort Davy Crockett for the winter. Shortess reports that he was left exposed to the much abused Hudson Bay Company, but none of the personnel attempted to take advantage of his situation and instead treated him hospitably. Mr. Ermatinger was especially helpful in assisting him on his journey. Ermatinger had furs he wanted to send out and turned them over to a Canadian, named Sylvertry, and Shortess and two natives to take them 500 miles to Fort Walla Walla. After traveling about 18 miles they were caught in a snow storm and took shelter in a grove of trees until the following morning. The next day the sky was clear, and they resumed their journey, only to encounter a second storm which was so severe the two Indians deserted them and turned back.

Shortess continued with Sylvertry and fourteen pack horses in cold weather through barren desolate country following the Snake River valley. They completed the 300 mile journey between Fort Hall and Fort Boise in about two weeks time. They rested there for one day and then continued over bare, frozen ground through the Blue Mountains of Northern Oregon. For two days they plodded through snow from one to three feet deep with horses so weak from hunger they could hardly make their way through snow drifts. There was no conversation

between the two travelers because Sylvertry spoke French only and Shortess English.

They finally reached mild climate when they arrived at the valley of the Umatilla River where the weather was spring-like and there was an abundance of green grass for the horses. Ten days after leaving Fort Boise they arrived at Fort Nez Perce, also known as Fort Walla Walla, on the south bank of the Columbia near the present town of Wallula, Washington.

At Fort Walla Walla Shortess was advised that it was too late in the season (sometime during the month of November) to attempt to cross the Cascade Mountains. He then went to the Whitman mission at Waiilatpu six miles west of present Walla Walla, Washington where he spent the remainder of the winter.[41] Shortess stayed at the mission until March 12, 1840, when he departed and traveled alone until he met an Indian Chief with whom he traveled to the Deschutes River. At a point near the place where the Deschutes enters the Columbia the weather was so cold and stormy he spent the next day at the Indian Village of his traveling companion. When the weather cleared he was escorted by the Chief and four of his people to the mission at The Dalles about fifteen miles down the Columbia River. The mission at The Dalles was operated by Rev. Perkins and Rev. Daniel Lee, who was the nephew of Jason Lee, the missionary who had given the lecture in Peoria in September of 1838 which resulted in the formation of the Peoria Party. Shortess worked at the mission farm at The Dalles for two weeks and then accompanied Ben Wright, a Texan, and a Mr. Dutton who had purchased some horses from the Indians to sell in the Willamette valley. They crossed the Cascade mountains in deep snow and ultimately arrived at Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia near present day Vancouver, Washington. After resting for two days they crossed the Columbia to the south bank where they discharged the Indian guides, and traveled to the Pudding River. They followed that river to its confluence with the Willamette eight miles above present Oregon City and then went south along the Willamette to the Methodist Mission founded by Rev. Jason Lee on the east bank of the Willamette ten miles northwest of present Salem, Oregon. Shortess arrived at the Mission on Saturday April 18, 1840 almost a year after the Peoria Party had set out. On Monday he went to work for a Mr. O'Neil where he continued until the end of June and then worked for the mission. He did farm work and was paid $1.00 per day and board. There were six other men in the area who were former employees of the American Fur Company: one was an American and the other five French Canadians, all of whom had become well-to-do farmers. Shortess remained to become a part of the settlement in the vicinity of the mission.

The four members of the Shortess faction whom he had left at Fort Davy Crockett remained at Camp Davy Crockett in Brown's Hole for the winter. Their names were Joseph Holman, Francis Fletcher, Amos Cook and Ralph Kilbourn, and they followed the advice of Joe Meek and Robert Newell concerning the danger of attempting to travel through the mountains in the winter.[42] They built a log cabin with a huge fireplace and set out on a hunting trip to acquire a supply of meat to last them through the winter. They spent the winter months in the comfort of their cabin. Holman made saddle trees and gun stocks for the Snake Indians, who paid him well in beaver skins, the currency of the area. In the early spring, accompanied by Dr. Newell, a trapper and mountain man, who was

returning to his home in Oregon, they left Fort Davy Crockett and started for Fort Hall. Holman, writing his account many years later, recorded the starting date in March, however Newell, who kept a "Memorandum," states it was on February 7. The company encountered deep snow along the way that made progress almost impossible. It was an exhausting experience, and at one time they went for four days without meat and were forced to devour Dr. Newell's dog. Their horses were their security against starvation. Ultimately they reached an Indian camp where they purchased two dogs for a piece of scarlet cloth. There was no grass for the horses which survived on young cotton wood trees along the creek bottoms. Three days before reaching Fort Hall (near Pocatello, Idaho) they killed a lone buffalo, which provided food until they reached the fort. At Fort Hall they traded three furs for dried salmon and corn and remained there for three weeks waiting for a company enroute to Fort Walla Walla with a load of furs.

When they left Fort Hall in early May the weather was much improved and they had a pleasant journey to Fort Walla Walla. From there they traveled down the North side of the Columbia and crossed to the south side at The Dalles. They then proceeded down the Columbia to Fort Vancouver and arrived there the same day as the ship Lausanne which had come from New England with Rev. Jason Lee and his party of forty missionaries. Dr. McLoughlin, the Chief factor of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, was astonished to see them and could hardly believe they had come on such a journey for the sole purpose of becoming residents of Oregon. He graciously provided them with a meal and sent them down to his dairy for "something dainty" to eat after their rough diet in the wilderness. They traded their furs for new clothing at the fort. Beaver skins had a par value but coins were discounted 20%.

Robert Moore, the other member with the Shortess group at the time they left Bent's Fort, stayed at Fort St. Vrain on the South Platte in northeastern Colorado and took up winter quarters there.[43] He continued on to Oregon in the spring of 1840.[44]

Thus, of the 19 members who made up the Peoria Party, nine completed the journey to Oregon. Those members were T.J. Farnham, Sidney Smith, William Blair, Robert Shortess, Joseph Holman, Francis Fletcher, Ralph L. Kilbourne, Amos Cook, and Robert Moore. Of the fifteen original members who left from Peoria seven reached Oregon. Shortess had joined the group at Independence and William Blair left the Santa Fe party, and joined at the crossing of the Arkansas River.

The first ones to leave the group were Owen Garrette and Thomas Pickett, both of whom were original Peoria members, and John L. Moore who had joined at Quincy. These three joined an eastbound wagon train at 110 mile creek on June 7 and returned to their homes.

The second group to leave was Chauncey Wood and J. Quinn Jordan, who were original Peoria Party members, and Pritchell who had joined at Independence. These three left on June 27 at a point where the Santa Fe trail crossed the Arkansas River, and they joined another group headed for New Mexico.

Charles Yates and James L. Fash left the Shortess group at Fort St. Vrain. James L. Fash returned to Peoria and Charles Yates went to New Mexico.

Obediah A. Oakley and Joseph Wood went as far as Fort Davy Crockett in northwestern Colorado and on August 17 left with the Richardson party to return to the midwest.

Although Thomas J. Farnham was the first of the party to reach Oregon, he did not stay long and left by steamer for the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii Islands). He later returned to California and traveled through Mexico (which at that time included Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas) to New Orleans and up the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers to central Illinois where he arrived in the fall of 1840.

The men of the Peoria Party who spent a year of their lives beating their way through the frontier wilderness, plodding through snow drifts, sleeping in the rain, thirsting on the parched plains, and at times surviving on dog meat, willingly made the sacrifices necessary to reach their goal. With the exception of Robert Moore, age 56, and William Blair age 50, the others were 35 or under at the time they left Peoria. Amos Cook, at age 25, was the youngest of those who completed the journey. Shortess was 36, Farnham and Smith were 35, and Fletcher, Kilbourne and Holman were 30. They were still young men when they reached Oregon and, as might be expected of men of their caliber, they played an important role in the development of the country they had struggled so hard to reach.

Although their initial leader, Thomas Jefferson Farnham, did not settle in Oregon, the historical importance of his influence in encouraging others to become settlers cannot be overlooked. His book *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, The Anahauc and Rocky Mountains and the Oregon Territory* was published in this country and in London and, as one of the first definitive accounts of western travel, it was widely read by those interested in seeking their fortunes on the new frontier.

NOTES

[1]*The Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer,* Oct. 6, 1839.

[2]Rev. Jason Lee is considered by historians one of the most influential persons in early Oregon history. When he returned to New England he was successful in raising additional money for his mission as well as recruiting more followers. With additional followers, supplies and equipment he returned to Oregon by ship in 1840 and continued his missionary work for many years.

In 1934 the Board of Home Missions and Church Extensions of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Philadelphia sponsored a centennial anniversary of Jason Lee's original journey from Boston to Oregon in 1834. The Centennial celebration included the "Jason Lee Special" a motorized covered wagon which traveled from Boston to Oregon over substantially the same course Lee had traveled on horseback 100 years earlier.

The Jason Lee Special came to Peoria from Chicago on June 12,1934. Peoria was chosen as one of the cities on the itinerary because of the importance of Rev. Lee's speech in 1838 in encouraging the formation of The Peoria Party. When the "covered wagon" reached Averyville it proceeded up Park Street to Glen Oak Park where it headed a parade to the Courthouse square for a short program and then returned to Glen Oak Park for the principal program which included a basket supper. Earnest East Papers Peoria Public Library.

[3]Holman account, reprinted in Leroy R. and Ann W. Hafen, *To The Rockies and Oregon* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1955), p. 124.

[4]*The Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer,* Apr. 24, 1839.

[5]Reprinted in R.G. Thwaites, "Early Western Travels", Vols 28 and 29. (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Co.).

[6]Reprinted in *Niles Register*, May 25, 1839.

[7]Eliza Burhans Farnham had a career equally as illustrious as that of her husband. When she and her husband moved to Poughkeepsie, N.Y. in 1840 she became matron of the women's division at Sing Sing prison. She was the author of a book describing pioneer life in Central Illinois titled *Life in Prairie Land*. After her husband died in California in 1849 she went to California and was a school teacher and later the matron of the female division of the Stockton, California Insane Asylum. In 1858 she addressed the National Woman's Right Convention in New York. She also wrote *Women and Her Era*, and *California Indoors and Out*. She was active in promoting a petition to Congress to abolish slavery and a volunteer nurse at Gettysburg in 1863. She died in New York City in 1864 at the age of 49.

[8]Reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon 1839-1842* (1955).

[9]Shortess narration, reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon*, p. 94.

[10]*Peoria!* p. 60, Klein, Visual Communications, Inc., Peoria, Ill.

[11]Oakley account in *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer* Nov. 9, 1839 reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon*.

[12]The group carried a large tent with a high center pole in which all of the members were able to sleep and be protected from the weather.

[13]Sidney Smith's account in diary form is reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon* by Hafen and Hafen, who copied it from the original which was at Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon.

[14]Sidney Smith's account is reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon* by Hafen and Hafen.

[15]*Travels In The Great Northwest Prairies, the Anahauc and Rocky Mountains and Oregon* by Farnham, reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, Vols. 28 and 29, ed. R.G. Thwaites. (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark), p. 90.

[16]The Journal of Obediah Oakley was published in *The Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer* of Nov. 9, 1839 and has been reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon* p. 41.

[17]The Robert Shortess Narration is reprinted in Hafen and Hafen, *To The Rockies and Oregon*, p. 101.

[18]Farnham's Journal, reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, p. 91.

[19]Oakley Journal, *To The Rockies and Oregon*, p. 45.

[20]Farnham's Journal, reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, p. 97.

[21]Farnham's Journal, reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, p. 98.

[22]Farnham's Journal, reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, p. 100. The reference to Richard's soliloquy is to Shakespeare's *Richard III*.

[23]Neither Farnham's Journal nor the accounts of the other members contain any specifics concerning Smith's personality or character to explain why Farnham and others referred to him in such derogatory terms.

[24]Oakley account, reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon* p. 45, (Reprinted from the Nov. 9, 1839 issue of *The Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer)*.

[25]The Shortess Narration was published originally in the *Transaction of the Twenty-Forth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1896*, and it is reprinted in Hafen's, *To The Rockies and Oregon*. The foregoing material begins on p. 102 of that book.

[26]LeRoy Hafen, the compiler of a collection of manuscripts of early travelers under the title *To The Rockies and Oregon*, states that Denver was founded in 1858, and the Shortess account must have been written after that date.

[27]The Holman and Cook accounts can be found in *To The Rockies and Oregon*, pp. 123 and 135 respectively.

[28]Smith mentions in his journal that he was acquainted with one of the three trappers, a Charles A. Warfield of St. Louis.

[29]"The Fort is a hollow square of one story log cabins, with roofs and floors of mud, constructed in the same manner as those of Fort William. Around these we found the conical skin lodges of the squaws of the white trappers, who were away on their "fall hunt", and also the lodges of a few Snake Indians, who had preceded their tribe to this, their winter haunt. Here also were the lodges of Mr. Robinson, a trader, who usually stations himself here to traffic with the Indians and white trappers. His skin lodge was his warehouse and buffalo robes were spread upon ground and counter, on which he displayed his butcher knives, hatchets, powder, lead, fish-hooks, and whisky. In exchange for these articles, he receives beaver skins from trappers, money from travellers, and horses from the Indians. Thus, as one would believe, Mr. Robinson drives a very snug little business. And indeed, when all the 'independent trappers' are driven

by approaching winter into this delightful retreat, and the whole Snake village, two or three thousand strong, impelled by the same necessity, pitch their lodges around the Fort, and the dances and merry makings of a long winter are thoroughly commenced, there is no want for customers." The foregoing description by Farnham is taken from *John Jarvie of Brown's Park* by William L. Tennent, Bureau of Land Management Utah Cultural Resources Series No. 7.

[30]Oakley described the dog meat "excellent, much better than our domestic beef, and next to buffalo." William L. Tennent, *John Jarvie of Brown's Park*, Bureau of Land Management Utah Cultural Resources Services, No. 7, p. 10.

[31]Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahauc and Rocky Mountains and the Oregon Territory,* reprinted in *Early Western Travels,* Vol. 28, p. 277.

[32]Joseph Meek later became a leading citizen of the Willamette Valley and was one of the leaders in establishing the provisional government of which he was the first sheriff. He later was the messenger of the early settlers to Washington, D.C. to obtain the cooperation of the Federal government to provide protection for the American settlers. On his return he was appointed U.S. Marshall and served as guide to the group which escorted the first American governor to Oregon.

[33]The U.S. Government later maintained a fort known as Fort Boise at the same site which became an important station on the Oregon trail.

[34]Farnham's Journal, reprinted in *Early Western Travels*, Vol. 29, p. 23.

[35]Malcom Clark, Jr. in *Eden Seekers*, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1981), p. 123, states that Farnham had been forced to trade his clothing for a horse and Dr. John McLoughlin, the Hudson Bay representative at Fort Vancouver, gave him a suit of clothes and even provided him with a formal suit so that he would not be out of place at dinner. Dr. McLoughlin also made the arrangements for Farnham's passage on the Hudson Bay ship, Mereide, for his trip to the Sandwich Islands.

[36]*"Discord Among The Pioneers", Oregon Journal,* June 18, 1939.

[37]St. Pierre Pombrone was a native of Quebec, had fought in the War of 1812, and then went to work for the Hudson Bay Co. He earned a reputation of kindness toward American emigrants.

[38]Sidney Smith Journal, in *To The Rockies and Oregon,* p. 91.

[39]Smith was a poor speller, and his sentence structure and grammar leave much to be desired; however, his journal is valuable because it was written at the time and in many places is quite descriptive. It indicates that his recovery from his gun shot wound was successful because he makes no further reference to it.

[40]Shortess account, reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon.*

[41]This mission was established in 1836 by Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman, who maintained it until they were massacred by Indians in 1847.

[42]Most of the material concerning these four is taken from the accounts of Holman, Cook and Fletcher which are reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon.*

[43]Shortess account, reprinted in *To The Rockies and Oregon.*

[44]Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, pp. 237-38.

CIVIL WAR ACCOUNTS AS LITERATURE: ILLINOIS LETTERS, DIARIES, AND PERSONAL NARRATIVES

John E. Hallwas

Civil War soldiers produced thousands of letters, diaries, and personal narratives, but most of those accounts of the conflict have never been considered from a literary perspective. Of course they have been of continuing interest to historians for their documentary value, but as such, they have not been read so much as looked into—scanned for information to enlarge our understanding of what happened. Even Henry Steele Commager, editor of perhaps the best and most noted collection of such materials, *The Blue and the Gray: The Story of the Civil War as Told by Participants* (1950), while using the word "literature" to denote the body of personal nonfiction from the war, views it from a strictly historical perspective. His overriding concern is "authenticity"—that is, historical accuracy—and he warns the reader that the authors he has assembled "are not always to be trusted."[1] In short, such accounts are not valued as self-expression, as reconstructions of personal experience, as literary artifacts, but as contributions to our understanding of the war.

This approach has been almost universal with respect to Illinois materials, although a couple of fine personal narratives have received some attention as literary achievements: General Grant's *Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* (1885-1886) and Robert J. Burdette's *The Drums of the 47th* (1914).[2] And recently, excerpts from those works, and from Joseph G. Waters's letters from the 84th Regiment (1862-1863) and George P. Hall's *Fourteen Months in Rebel Prisons* (1879-1880), have appeared in a literary anthology.[3] Without doubt, personal accounts of the war—like nonfictional writings on any other subject—sometimes have significant literary quality and deserve a modern readership. For that reason, Civil War accounts by Illinois soldiers need to be examined carefully, to determine which of them do have value as literary art and what those works reveal about the human experience.

Unfortunately, no one knows how many of them survive. Clyde C. Walton reported in 1965 that "There are 299 memoirs, reminiscences, and histories of Illinois infantry units, 68 of cavalry, but only 20 of artillery units."[4] His count of those published works was apparently based on the well-known bibliography by C.E. Dornbusch, *Regimental Publications and Personal Narratives of the Civil War* (1961), but the Dornbusch list includes chronologies, histories, rosters, reunion proceedings, and even some fiction, so the body of separately published personal narratives was, in 1965, a fraction of Walton's count.[5] Since then, however, other works have appeared, and most of them are listed in Garold L. Cole's new book, *Civil War Eyewitnesses: An Annotated Bibliography of Books and Articles 1955-1986* (1988). What makes the body of Illinois Civil War personal

nonfiction of vast, indeterminate size are the uncounted thousands of letters and memoirs in newspapers and, of course, the thousands of unpublished letters, diaries, and narratives in libraries and personal hands. Even if the unpublished items are not considered, the number of published accounts would be very large and their location would often be unknown, among the pages of old newspapers, so one person cannot survey all of the available material. What the present study intends to do is discuss the aesthetic qualities of personal nonfiction and demonstrate that some letters, diaries, and personal narratives of the Civil War have literary value, so as to encourage the recovery and study of these accounts.

Regimental histories or other war-related writings that are not based primarily on the author's experience will be excluded from this discussion. This is not to say that such histories, biographies, and essays have no literary value, but they have different, and frequently less complex, artistic purposes than personal nonfiction. It should be pointed out that regimental histories are often a combination of personal narrative and historical reconstruction, but since they do not reflect an individual's experience, focusing instead on the activities of a group, they should be the subject of a separate study.

Since this discussion attempts to distinguish between nonfiction that has literary value and nonfiction that does not, a description of "literary nonfiction," with respect to personal writing, is needed.[6] In brief, it is prose that displays a fine blend of content, form, and style; that both analyzes personal experience and synthesizes it into a new unity, and that reveals a firm commitment to contemporary or historical factuality. It is an artistic reconstruction of, or reaction to, the author's experience. Of course, all writers of personal nonfiction depict themselves—their experiences and values primarily—but only the best display significant insight and create revealing, convincing self-portraits.

Sensitivity and sincerity are perhaps the keys to literary success. A sensitive writer of personal nonfiction must be intensely aware of the interaction between himself and the world. He must view himself as an interpreter of his experience. A sincere writer must strive to tell the truth—not necessarily the whole truth about every facet of his life and thought, but the truth about those things that matter enough for him to write about them. By doing so, he projects a voice that sounds like himself, which engages the reader.

The most common techniques used by writers of personal nonfiction are description, dialogue, narrative, and spontaneous emotional expression. To describe something vividly is to place it before the reader with impact. To use dialogue well is to involve the reader as a witness after-the-fact to past interaction between individuals. To narrate effectively is to present a completed, meaningful pattern of action. To express feelings without restraint is to engage the reader's empathetic response. In each case, fidelity to the truth (as experienced by the author), not imaginative wholeness, is the measure of the writer's success, but as the use of these techniques suggests, literary nonfiction is an attempt to transform life into art, whether or not the author thinks of himself as a literary man.

Letters and diaries have similar artistic qualities. Both are highly personal nonfiction forms, and they are characterized by vividness, which arises from their close temporal connection to the experiences they portray. Because letters are

often directed to a specific individual, they are apt to reflect role-playing (the writer as concerned spouse, for example) and to anticipate or respond to the reader's interests. Of course, diaries are characterized by a shifting, developing perspective. The reader is often aware of the writer's inner growth. But the same can be said about a series of letters—and many Civil War letters are part of a series written closely together. In any case, letters and diaries derive their impact from the vivid portrayal of the self immersed in the chaos of day to day experience. War is therefore a good subject for these literary forms because it offers new and intense experiences which test the character of the writer.

Most letters written by Illinois Civil War soldiers have little or no value as literary art. The writers provide information about their location, health, and activities, and about their regiment's duties, but they seldom portray their experience in much detail or reveal their inner life. Perhaps the most recent published collected of such letters is *We Are Sherman's Men: The Civil War Letters of Henry Orendorff* (1986), edited by William M. Anderson. Orendorff clearly regards himself as a purveyor of information but not an interpreter of his unique experience. In a letter to his parents written after the Battle of Missionary Ridge, for example, he merely lists some of the men who were killed and then reports, without much detail or reflection, that he was wounded:

> I was wounded in the first charge and went back to the rear & helped Dr. Buck to dress wounds. I dident feel my wounds much until after I got still then they began to hurt. I was [also] slightly bruised on the left leg just below the knee. I went out on the battlefield the next day after the Battle there were some horrid sights which I will not attempt to describe.[7]

He goes on to mention that two of his fingers were hurt, but he does not say how. In any case, he makes no attempt to reconstruct his experience, to describe what he saw during or after the battle, or to relate how he feels about that episode, the enemy, his fallen comrades, or the progress of the war.

Letters written for publication in a newspaper more frequently focus on the activities of the author's regiment so as to provide a kind of report to his home community. However, they are also apt to be general accounts, with little description, dialogue, narration or emotional expression. As one might expect, letters written right after battles are more likely to contain vivid descriptions and exciting narratives.

One soldier who did write letters of literary value was Joseph G. Waters, a lawyer from Macomb who served in the 84th Infantry Regiment. Several of his letters appeared in the *Macomb Weekly Journal.* He obviously attempted to reconstruct his experience for his readers, as in this passage from his account of the Battle of Stone's River (or Murfreesboro):

> Very soon we saw the rebels coming full tilt at us on our right. They approached to within 75 or 100 yards of our lines, when the 84th opened their first fire with a shout upon the enemy. Our [artillery] battery just behind us opened in concert, and we were fairly in the fight. The rebels soon came to a halt at the edge of the woods towards us, and then soon commenced to retreat again. We were ordered to swing our right flank around, which we did, and we again commenced firing at the rebels, who were some 400 yards away. Then it appeared as if all the thunders of hell and heaven, long pent up, had burst about our ears. You could not hear the cannons that were firing 50 feet from you, but there came instead what resembled huge mountains of thunder, making the earth itself tremble and vibrate.[8]

Waters not only creates vivid narratives, he also describes and celebrates his comrades, such as Color Sergeant George Yocum, who died at Stone's River:

> Poor George, on the Sunday before the fight, had a long conversation with me about friends at home, and about the impending fight, in the course of which he said he knew his was a dangerous post, and that in case he was wounded or killed, for me to take care of him and write to his folks. . . . George done his whole duty, but his life was the sacrifice, and as we hereafter look at our flag rent by the bullets, our thoughts will dwell on the Sergeant who, forsaking all the allurments and enjoyments of a happy home, came to do battle for his country, and who fell while upholding that starry ensign amid the din of battle. (p. 136)

This passage also suggests that Waters used conventional, patriotic language here as a means of coping with the awful reality that his close friend was dead.

His letters also exhibit humor. About military rations, for example, he says, "Beside the regular detail of food, we have dessicated vegetables, in other words, Guano, dried and pressed. A haversack full of it, when boiled out, will cultivate and keep in good condition a quarter section of land for years" (p. 133). He even creates a delightful, whimsical tall tale about a soldier who ate the food while it was still dehydrated, drank water, and rose into the air when it expanded.

Waters often reveals his inner life as he copes with the experience of war. Even when he is not in battle, he expresses his emotional condition, as in this account of an anxious night before a battle:

> Tonight I guess I am the last one up in camp. . . . Occasionally I hear the guard halting someone, and then silence reigns for awhile in Warsaw. The fires lie smoldering in ruins, encircling you on every side as though they were the breathing holes of hell, and then again on some lofty hill they nestle among a group of stars, vainly striving to be one of their number. I wish the readers of your paper could see an army camp at night, with its untold fires which the soldiers daily and nightly keep burning. It is suggestive to me of many things. Perhaps "the city of Death" I have thought it to be more often than anything else. The mists of night distort objects seen at a distance by the camp fires, and it looks as though famine, pestilence, and plague flitted ever and anon before the flickering blaze, while over camp the dark smoke that overhung looms up as the dark Angel of Death, the presiding genius of this place, flapping his broad wings of destruction. (p. 134)

As his comment "I wish the readers of your paper could see an army camp" reveals, he was striving to make them see, to help them experience the war vicariously. In the same letter he emphasizes that a soldier's life is much worse than the public recognizes—not romantic but hard, desperate, real—and comments that if the people back home could only appreciate how it really was, they would act to end the war. As he says of the sickness in camp, "Could you be in camp and see the sick comprising every grade of sufferers, with their languishing eyes turned homeward as though constant looking would bring absent friends, you would be more fervid in your desire to terminate this struggle, and either be intensely loyal or the reverse" (p. 134). Waters' literary purpose, expressed here, provoked some of the finest Civil War letters from Illinois.

Diaries also vary greatly in literary quality. Some are nothing more than a compilation of brief general comments about the weather and regimental movements. Others are more detailed but nevertheless uninspired accounts of army life, which occasionally provide a memorable description. One such work is *Private Smith's Journal* (1963), edited by Clyde C. Walton, which was written by an unsophisticated young man named Benjamin T. Smith. He lived in Kankakee before the war and served in the 51st Illinois Infantry. Much of his diary is not very engaging, but his description of the fighting at Nashville late in 1864 is memorable. In the midst of a desperate struggle, for example, he sees the Union commader, General George H. Thomas:

Charles W. Wills

James Connolly

> The rain of leads fills the air, and great numbers of wounded men are going, or being carried to the rear. As I am passing to the left of our division, I meet Genl Thomas, who is sitting upon the end of a log, his right elbow resting on his knee, with his hand nursing his stubby whiskers. He is alone, his staff standing by their horses within call in a slight depression below him; the bullets are kicking up the dust all around his vicinity; they seem not to be a disturbing element to his motionless figure. It may be a fateful day with him, for today will decide for him, in success, his promotion; in defeat, he is undone. The hissing of the bullets, nor the screech of the passing shells, disturb him . . . (pp. 194-95)

Smith's use of the present tense provides a sense of immediacy, and his sketch of the man lost in thought amid the roar and confusion of battle is specific enough to compel the reader's attention. After the fighting, he describes the battlefield, conveying as he does so a powerful sense of the waste and futility of war: "Misery, woe, and destruction upon all sides; every part of the blood stained field holds its wounded victims, and the dead, both blue and gray, intermingled, everywhere. The field is filled with ambulances, and corps of helpers, picking up the wounded, black and white, blue and gray" (p. 197).

A more interesting work is *Army Life of an Illinois Soldier* (1906) by Charles W. Wills of Canton. A composite volume containing both letters and diary entries, it depicts the author's Civil War experience from April 28, 1861 to May 19, 1865. It is, then, a very extensive account that covers more than four years—from his trip to camp at Springfield, as a new recruit, to his participation in the Grand Review at Washington, D.C., after he had served in the 8th Infantry, 7th Cavalry, and 103rd Infantry. During that time, he had risen from private to lieutenant colonel, so his letters and diary reveal the progress of a man with some real talent as a soldier. The very completeness of *Army Life of an Illinois Soldier* gives it a kind of unity, or aesthetic wholeness, that few diaries or series of letters possess.

The chief attraction of the book is Wills himself, who had received an education at Illinois State Normal School in Bloomington before the war broke out. He emerges as an individual with strong views who reacts forcefully to the places, people, and events that comprise his experience. For example, he refers to Cairo as "a gorgeous hole" that "will breed fever and ague enough to disable all the men in this state," but he falls in love with Paducah, Kentucky.[9] Of homesick soldiers, he says, "I do despise these whiners" (p. 32), and he calls the Rebels "traitors who must be humbled" (p. 32). He is disgusted at the rampant stealing by members of his regiment (p. 40), and he complains that the Union commanders do not advance against the enemy (pp. 33, 39, 85, 123). Still, he tells his sister—to whom his letters are directed—"I never enjoyed anything in the world as I do this life . . . " (p. 14). He even likes being on duty in the rain (p. 170).

Wills changes during his four years in the army. His comprehension of the war grows, and his sense of responsibility deepens as he gains experience and moves up the ladder in rank. Some of his views change too. In August of 1862 he refers to some Negro field hands as a "degraded set of brutes" and deplores the idea of using men like them as soldiers (p. 127), but by the following spring his mind begins to change (p. 176), and after seeing some black soldiers in camp, he comments,

> An honest confession is good for the soul. I never thought I would, but I am getting strongly in favor of arming them, and am becoming so blind that I can't see why they will not make soldiers. How queer. A year ago last January I didn't like to hear anything of emancipation. Last fall accepted confiscation of Rebels' negroes quietly. In January took to emancipation readily, and now believe in arming the negroes. The only objection

> I have to it is a matter of pride. I almost begin to think of applying for a position in a [Negro] regiment myself. (pp. 183-84)

At the outset of his first letter, Wills provides a vivid sense of new experience, as he describes the departure of local soldiers from Peoria amid "Shouting, crying, praying, and shaking hands" (p. 7) and their subsequent arrival at Camp Brick. By the end of his long period of service, he worries that four years of "soldiering" have made him unfit for civilian life, and he says, "I almost have a dread of being a citizen, of trying to be sharp, and trying to make money" (p. 370). Wills realized that he had changed. Unfortunately, he was not introspective enough to reveal more of his psychological development.

But James Connolly was. A young lawyer from Charleston, Illinois, he joined the 123rd Infantry Regiment in July of 1862, was elected major the following month, and served until the fall of 1864. During that time, he wrote many letters to Mary Dunn of Gilead, Ohio, who was at first his fiancee' and later his wife. Toward the end of his period of service he also kept a diary, chiefly because he anticipated that the mail might be interrupted, and by that time, he was committed to making a full record of his experience. First published in 1928 by the Illinois State Historical Library, his letters and diary were subsequently re-edited by Paul M. Angle, who entitled the composite volume *Three Years in the Army of the Cumberland: The Letters and Diary of Major James A. Connolly* (1959). After the war, Connolly returned to his law practice at Charleston, but he also entered politics. He served two terms in the Illinois General Assembly (1872-1876) and then was appointed U. S. District Attorney for southern Illinois. After moving to Springfield in 1886, he was an unsuccessful Whig candidate for governor and then served two terms in Congress (1893-1897).

Angle praises the Major's account as "an unsurpassed record of campaigning in the West" that "affords a realistic picture of day-to-day soldiering—of rough, spare living in the field, of boredom and fun in camp, of seemingly aimless scouts, of the high excitement of battle."[10] But it is more than that. It is a remarkable depiction of life as a soldier by a man who strove to reconstruct his experience, not merely report it. One of his finest narratives, focused on the Battle of Missionary Ridge, clearly reveals the literary quality of his writing and his effort to make the reader see the event as he did:

> "Charge!" is shouted wildly from hundreds of throats, and with a yell such as that valley never heard before, the three Divisions (60 regiments) rushed forward; the rebels are silent for a moment, but then the batteries on top of the Ridge open all at once, and the very heavens above us seemed to be rent asunder; shells go screaming over our heads, bursting above and behind us, but they hurt nobody and the men don't notice them; about midway of the open space a shell bursts directly over my head, and so near as to make my horse frantic and almost unmanageable; he plunges and bursts breast strap and girth, and off I tumble with the saddle between my legs. My orderly catches my horse at once, throws the blanket and saddle on him, gives me a "leg lift" and I am mounted again, without girth, but I hold on with my knees and catch up with our madcaps at the first rifle pits; over these we go to the second line of pits, over these we go, some of the rebels lying down to be run over, others scrambling up the hill. . . .
>
> One flag bearer, on hands and knees, is seen away in advance of the whole line; he crawls and climbs toward a rebel flag he sees waving above him, he gets within a few feet of it and hides behind a fallen log while he waves his flag defiantly until it almost touches the rebel flag; his regiment follows him as fast as it can; in a few moments another flag bearer gets just as near the summit at another point, and his regiment soon gets to him, but these two regiments dare not go the next twenty feet or they would be annihilated, so they crouch there. . . .

> The suspense is greater, if possible, than that with which we viewed the storming of Lookout. If we can gain that Ridge, if we can scale those breastworks, the rebel army is routed, everything is lost for them, but if we cannot scale the works few of us will get down this mountain side and back to the shelter of the woods. But a third flag and regiment reaches the other two; all eyes are turned there; the men away above us look like great ants crawling up, crouching on the outside of the rebel breastworks. One of our flags seems to be moving; look! look! look! Up! Up! Up! it goes and is planted on the rebel works; in a twinkling the crouching soldiers are up and over the works; apparently quicker than I can write it the 3 flags and 3 regiments are up, the close fighting is terrific; other flags go up and over at different points along the mountain top—the batteries have ceased, for friend and foe are mixed in a surging mass; in a few moments the flags of 60 Yankee regiments float along Mission Ridge from one end to the other, the enemy are plunging down the eastern slope of the Ridge, and our men are in hot pursuit, but darkness comes too soon and the pursuit must cease; we go back to the summit of the Ridge and there behold our trophies—dead and wounded rebels lying under our feet by hundreds, cannon by scores scattered up and down the Ridge with yelling soldiers astraddle them, rebel flags lying around in profusion, and soldiers and officers completely and frantically drunk with excitement. (pp. 157-58)

Despite the excellence of such descriptions, the chief strength of Connolly's writing is not his account of the battles he fought in but his self-portrayal. He is a sensitive, complex, courageous, patriotic, outspoken, and emotional man whose self is always before the reader. Even in the above account of the fighting at Missionary Ridge, his intense identification with the soldiers who lead the charge adds considerably to the impact of his writing. Early in the series of letters, he worries about whether his legs will "stand fire" (p. 21), but after his baptism of fire at the Battle of Perryville—in which two generals standing next to him were killed—he is relieved and tells Mary Dunn, "My greatest doubts and fears are settled. . . ." (p. 25). Rather like Henry Fleming in Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage,* Connolly feels that he has "done a man's part" (p. 31) and that he will survive the war. Although his anxiety on that score subsides, his emotionalism is reflected in many other ways. This brief self-portrait at the Battle of Jonesboro, for example, reveals much about the man: "When the cheer of victory went up, I recollect finding myself in a tangled lot of soldiers, on my horse, just against the enemy's log breast-works, my hat off, and tears streaming from my eyes, but as happy as a mortal is ever permitted to be. I could have lain down on the blood stained grass, amid the dying and the dead, and wept for excess of joy" (p. 258).

Furthermore, Connolly analyzes his development and comments on his changing views at various times during the war. For instance, in a letter to Mary Dunn (now his wife), dated April 30, 1863, he asserts that his former "rebellious spirit toward everything military" has faded and he is beginning "to feel somewhat the spirit of a soldier" (p. 47). Unlike Wills, Connolly really does not care for soldiering—"It is a perfect dog's life" (p. 356), he says—but he has a strong sense of duty, so he stays and fights despite his longing to be home (pp. 131-35). He tells himself that "A soldier has no business to think" (p. 131), but think he does—about how his military actions contradict his moral and political values (p. 58), about his reasons for fighting (pp. 106-07), about his maturation as an officer (p. 242), and about many other matters. He is a remarkable interpreter of his own experience. And because Connolly's letters and diary entries so effectively reflect his flow of thought, so vividly dramatize his inner life, the reader becomes intensely engaged with him as he participates in the great conflict.

Moreover, there is a tension between Connolly's individualism and his role as a soldier and proponent of the Union cause that runs throughout his writings, giving them a universal quality. For example, he is intensely proud of the gallant Union soldiers, but he deplores their "outrageous pillaging" (p. 216). He feels the need to follow orders, but he criticizes the treatment of fugitive negroes by General Davis (pp. 354-55; 367). Connolly is not just a receptacle of impressions or a recorder of events; he is a moral conscience, an individual whose values are tested in the pressure and uncertainty of war. His writings are therefore important not only for their documentary value but for their literary quality, and he is clearly one of the most important Civil War Authors from Illinois.

Unlike letters and diaries, personal narratives are removed by a long interval of time from the events they describe. They are retrospective. Moreover, they are not just a sequence of impressions, comments, and short narratives. They are composed of a single narrative, created over a significant period of time, so there is a greater deliberateness about them. For that reason, they are apt to be more complex than diaries and letters.

A personal narrative of the Civil War is autobiographical, but it is not an autobiography. That is to say, it is a memoir, which has broader focus than an autobiography and deals at least in part with people and events other than the author. This broader focus is sometimes even expressed in terms of narrative point of view, when the writer uses the pronoun "we," referring to the activities and views of his regiment. Nevertheless, each personal narrative is an interpretation of the self-as-a-soldier, which is accomplished by presenting some aspects of the author's military experience and withholding others.

The most well-known personal narrative of the war by an Illinois soldier is the *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (1885-1886). The two-volume work is partly an autobiography, for it begins with a chapter on Grant's family and youth and then follows the development of his military career. However, the central purpose of the work was to provide a memoir of the Civil War. Grant's early chapters about his service in the Mexican War are a kind of prelude to the main focus of the book. As he puts it, "My experience in the Mexican war was of great advantage to me afterwards."[11] The "afterwards," or his Civil War experience, begins with Chapter XVII of volume one, in which he offers his services as an officer for the Union, and it extends through Chapter LXX and the Conclusion. He does not refer to any post-war events, and in fact, the Conclusion assesses the impact of the Civil War on America, rather than his own experience.

Grant's account of the war has great clarity and objectivity, and it is therefore very readable. But he displays little or no emotion throughout the *Personal Memoirs,* as if the issues of the war were of no personal concern to him and the horrors and triumphs of the battlefield had no impact on him. One might compare his account of the Battle of Missionary Ridge with the description by James Connolly quoted above:

> The Confederates were strongly intrenched on the crest of the ridge in front of us, and had a second line half-way down and another at the base. Our men drove the troops in front of the lower line of rifle-pits so rapidly, and followed them so closely, that rebel and Union troops went over the first line of works almost at the same time. Many Rebels were captured and sent to the rear under fire of their own friends higher up the hill. Those that were not captured retreated, and were pursued. The retreating hordes being

> between friends and pursuers caused the enemy to fire high to avoid killing their own men. In fact, on that occasion the Union soldier standing nearest the enemy was in the safest position. Without awaiting further orders or stopping to reform, on our troops went to the second line of works; over that and on for the crest—thus effectually carrying out my orders of the 18th for the battle and of the 24th for this charge.
>
> I watched their progress with intense interest. The fire along the rebel line was terrific. Cannon and musket balls filled the air; but the damage done was small in proportion to the ammunition expended. The pursuit continued until the crest was reached, and soon our men were seen climbing over the Confederate barriers at different points in front of both Sheridan's and Wood's divisions. The retreat of the enemy along most of his line was precipitate and the panic so great that Bragg and his officers lost all control over their men. Many were captured, and thousands threw away their arms in their flight. (pp. 79-81)

Grant reconstructs the battle in a detached way, almost like a historian who had not been involved. He indicates that he was there, but he reveals no anxiety, no concern for his men, no satisfaction at the outcome. He merely watched "with intense interest." However, this is an interpretation of the battle, not just a chronicle of what occurred. It emphasizes the success of Grant's orders and the complete defeat of General Bragg, rather than the heroism of Union soldiers, as in Connolly's account.

Despite the clarity and thoroughness of his writing, and the uniqueness of his perspective as commander of the Union forces, Grant's *Personal Memoirs* is disappointing from a literary perspective. The reader is not intensely engaged in the narrative, chiefly because Grant does not provide vivid details and makes no attempt to portray his inner life. As a result, the war is not depicted as a human drama, a desperate struggle in which everyone involved had much at stake, and which had an impact on those who participated in it. Grant's account has limited literary value because it fails to provide significant insight into the human condition.

Illinois has several other personal narratives of the war that possess some literary quality. One of those is Robert Hale Strong's *A Yankee Private's Civil War* (1961), edited by Ashley Halsey. Strong grew up near Naperville and served in Company B of the 105th Illinois Infantry. He dictated his recollections to his mother some years after the war, and she wrote them down.

The great strength of Strong's personal narrative resides in his effective handling of specific events, his detailed reconstruction of some of his experiences. For example, his exciting account of the fighting at Kennesaw Mountain includes this serio-comic portrayal of a wounded comrade:

> As we turned away to the trees, a bullet struck Jimmie McMillan and down he went. After he had rolled over a couple of times, he yelled, "Jasus, I'm kilt. I'm dead." We turned him over. He was in his shirt sleeves and the blood was running out of a hole in his arm. Al Wiant says, "You ain't killed, Jim. It only went through the fleshy part of your arm."
>
> Up jumps Jimmie shouting, "The Virgin be praised. Now I'll get a furlough!" But in lifting his arm, we saw a hole in his shirt and *it* was bloody. When we called his attention to it, he fell down again and said, "Oh, Holy Mother, have pity, I'm kilt indeed. Oh, Saint Peter, save me!" We pulled his shirt off, and there was the bullet, stuck between two ribs. It must have been almost spent when it hit him. Someone pulled it out with his fingers.
>
> Jimmie turned mad as fire. He got no furlough and did not even go to the hospital. Instead, he was given the company mule to lead, with its big pots and pans for cooking, while the man who had been leading the mule took Jim's place in the ranks.
>
> Before that, Jimmie has been a good soldier. Afterwards, he was afraid of his own shadow.[12]

The compactness and humor of this vignette suggest that oral storytelling may have had an influence on Strong's personal narrative.

Some of his other notable episodes focus on the horrors of a field hospital (pp. 74-77), the flocking of former slaves to his regiment (pp. 113-15), a ceasefire for trading coffee and tobacco (pp. 116-17), and a face-to-face gunfight with a Confederate colonel (pp. 120-21). Among these, all but the first reveal his talent for reconstructing vivid dialogue. Strong was not interested in depicting his inner life, but he was a talented storyteller whose vivid account of his experience deserves to be more well known.

Among the Civil War accounts by common soldiers from Illinois, perhaps none is more well known than Leander Stillwell's *The Story of a Common Soldier of Army Life in the Civil War 1861-1865* (1917). It was recently reprinted in the Time-Life Books Collector's Library of the Civil War. Stillwell was born in 1843 on a farm in Jersey County, Illinois, and he served in Company D of the 61st Illinois Infantry. His account was based on letters that he had sent to his mother and a brief diary. It was written primarily for his son.[13]

Stillwell's personal narrative combines vivid character sketches and descriptions, forceful narration, and engaging reflections of his inner life. Among the many memorable parts of his book are his description of the courageous but ignorant Captain Reddish, who "never could learn the drill" but was "furiously patriotic" (p. 12), his account of the brief army physical (p. 15), his description of the first dead man he encountered (p. 56), his long, stirring account of the Battle of Shiloh (pp. 42-65), and his depiction of his arrival back home in Otterville after the war, where he attracted no attention and received no welcome (p. 277).

Stillwell's portrayal of his inner life recalls the characterization of Henry Fleming in Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage.* At the outset of his experience as a soldier, he thrilled to the new and exciting life and had "bright hopes of the future":

> . . .a great big wonderful world was unfolding to my view. And there was the daring, heroic life on which we were entering! No individual boy expected that *he* would be killed, or meet with any other adverse fate. Others might, and doubtless would, but *he* would come out safe and sound, and return home at the end of a victorious war, a military hero, and as such would be looked up to, and admired and reverenced, all the rest of his life. At any rate, such were my thoughts. . . . (pp. 32-33)

In view of this expectation, his account of his arrival back home, when no one meets him or greets him, much less gives him a hero's welcome, is ironic.

The Battle of Shiloh changes him. At the start of the fighting, while he is "waiting for the storm to break" on his unit, many images of home rush into his mind, and he decides that he would give up all chances of future glory to be transported back there (pp. 44-45). As his regiment retreats under heavy fire, his inner life is again revealed: "it seems to me that we were forever disgraced, and I kept thinking to myself: 'What will they say about this at home?' " (p. 46). After the fighting, he describes the dead bodies on the battlefield and reflects on the human cost of the war (pp. 64-65). His emotional shifts during the entire Shiloh experience are reminiscent of Crane's famous novel, which depicts the inner life of a soldier during a single battle, and toward the end of his book, Stillwell provides an insightful discussion of "Courage in battle" (pp. 270-72), which is of course a central theme in *The Red Badge of Courage.*

Because *The Story of a Common Soldier* depicts Stillwell's experience from the time that he decides to enlist until he reaches home again, and reveals much about his inner life along the way, it has a remarkable wholeness that most other personal narratives lack. Clearly, he wrote the book not to provide information about the war, but to tell how he experienced it. As he says to his son early in the book, "Remember all the time, as you read these recollections of an old man, I am trying to give you merely some conception of the thoughts, feelings, hopes, and ambitions of one who, at the time of which I am now speaking [1862] was only an eighteen-year-old boy" (p. 14). As a result of that effort, no personal narrative of the war from Illinois provides a more complex and engaging self-portrait of the author or offers a more satisfying reading experience.

However, the most powerful Civil War narrative by an Illinois soldier is Robert J. Burdette's *The Drums of the 47th* (1914). The author was born in Pennsylvania but spent much of his youth in Peoria, where he enlisted. After the war, he became a famous newspaper humorist and, eventually, a Baptist minister. Sometimes mistakenly classified as a regimental history, because of its title, *The Drums of the 47th* is actually a very personal work that does not even attempt to chronicle all of Burdette's military activities. Rather, it is a series of carefully constructed vignettes based on his war experience: breaking away from home, becoming part of a military unit, developing comradeship, viewing death in battle, and so on.

Unlike most Civil War accounts, Burdette's book reveals a conscious reshaping of his experience for literary effect. One of his finest chapters, for example, is called "The Murder," and it depicts the death of a young soldier on the battlefield—a boy much like Burdette. The event is carefully presented so as to convey the shocking effect of that death upon himself:

> I was looking at a young artilleryman. He was half seated on the hub of one of the Waterhouse guns, resting his face against the arm with which he cushioned the rim of the wheel. He was a boy about my own age, not over nineteen. He was tired, for serving the guns in hot action is fast work and hard work. His lips were parted with his quick breathing. He lifted his face and smiled at some remark made to him by one of the gunners, and his face was handsome in its animation—a beautiful boy.
>
> I heard a sound such as I had never heard before, but I shuddered as I heard it,—dull and cruel and deadly. A hideous sound, fearsome and hateful.
>
> The young artilleryman leaped to his feet, his face lifted toward the gray sky, his hand tossed above his head. He reeled, and as a comrade sprang to catch him in his arms the boy cried, his voice shrilling down the line:
>
> "Murder, boys! Murder! Oh, murder!"
>
> He clasped his hands over a splotch of crimson that was widening on the blue breast of his red-trimmed jacket and fell into the strong arms of the comrades who cried him to the rear. Him, or—It.
>
> The rain began again and the warm drops fell like tears upon his white face, as though angels were weeping above him. I watched the men carry him away to where the yellow flag marked the mercy station of the field hospital.
>
> Fear, before unfelt because unknown, clutched my heart like the hand of death, with the voice of that hissing spiteful bullet. My very soul was faint.[14]

Later, after the battle is won, Burdette cannot get the death of the young soldier out of his mind, and he realizes something of the human tragedy of war.

His final chapter is especially memorable. Based on the Battle of Spanish Fort in April of 1865, it offers an impressionistic account of the fighting that achieves great emotional intensity—as in this passage, which is a single sentence:

> A fitful rain of skirmish firing; a shot here; a half dozen; a score; silence; another half-dozen shots; a cheer and a volley; far away; ringing in clear and close; drifting away

> almost out of hearing; off to the right; swinging back to the left; coming in nearer; more of them, gathering in numbers and increasing in their intensity; batteries feeling the woods; a long roll of musketry; ringing cheers; thunders of awakening field-guns on right and left; the line leaps to its feet and rushes with fixed bayonets to meet the on-coming charge; the yellow clouds have changed to blue and gray; sheafs of fire gleaming through the trees; sickles of death gathering in the bloody harvest; yells of defiance and screams of agony; shouting of "the old-fashioned colonels" who ride with their men; bayonets gleaming about the smoke-grimed muzzles of the guns; fighting men swarming like locusts to the embrasures; saber and bayonet, sponge staff and rammer; lunge, thrust, cut and crashing blow; men driven out of the embrasures and over the parapet like dogs before lions; turning again with yelp and snarl, and slashing their way back again like fighting bulldogs, holding every inch they gain; hand to throat and knife to heart; hurrying reinforcements from all sides racing to the crater of smoke and flame; a long wild cheer, swelling in fierce exultant cadences, over and over and over the reversed guns, like the hounds of Acteon, baying at the heels and rending the bodies of the masters for whom but late they fought; a white flag fluttering like a frightened dove amidst smoke and flame, the fury and anguish, the hate and terror, the madness and death of the hell of passion raging over the sodden earth—the fort is ours. (pp. 203-05)

The book closes not with Burdette's return home, but with his return to the battlefield many years later, where he finds that the fort has disappeared from the landscape and has been replaced by a cottage where "a group of romping children laughed and danced and ran" (p. 209). He is happy that the fort is gone.

The Drums of the 47th is, then, about one man's assimilation of his Civil War experience. The reader is always conscious of the older, wiser Burdette who reflects on his experience as he reconstructs it. More than any other personal narrative of the war—at least, from Illinois—his book reveals what the war experience meant to those who went through it. For veterans, the war was not an objective event, not simply history. It was inherently subjective. It achieved meaning within a man's mind and contributed to his sense of identity. Unfortunately, Burdette is sometimes sentimental and moralistic, but his book is a unique and engaging account of a soldier's experience.

This study could not deal with all of the Civil War accounts from Illinois which have literary value, but hopefully, it has demonstrated that a number of letters, diaries, and personal narratives about the war are well written and deserve a modern readership. Surely, to treat the writings of Waters, Wills, Connolly, Strong, Stillwell, and Burdette as mere documentation of the war is to miss their greatest value for us. None of them provides invaluable information, but each views the conflict from a unique perspective. Even Grant's account, which does have significant documentary value, reflects the orderly, forceful, determined, and unemotional nature of the man. All of these works remind us that the past was lived by individuals, that the war was different for each man who participated in it, and that men without literary pretentions can be insightful interpreters of their own experience. As literature, these accounts of men under stress help us to define our own duties, enlarge our sympathies, and comprehend our humanity—even as they show us how it was during the great conflict.

The task for literary scholarship is to locate and examine other letters, diaries, and personal narratives—some of which lie unread in old newspapers and unpublished in fading manuscripts—and provide the best of them with modern editions and helpful commentaries. In short, we need to bring the Civil War nonfiction of Illinois to modern readers.

NOTES

[1]"Introduction," *The Blue and the Gray: The Story of the Civil War as Told by Participants,* ed Henry Steele Commager (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950), 1, xix-xx, xxiv.

[2]See Matthew Arnold, "General Grant," in *The Last Word,* The Complete Works of Matthew Arnold, Vol. II, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1977), 144-79; Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 131-73; and John E. Hallwas, "Bob Burdette's *The Drums of the 47th,*" *Western Illinois Heritage* (Macomb: Illinois Heritage Press, 1983), pp. 121-23. Grant's memoirs also received brief mention in a survey of Illinois non-fiction: John E. Hallwas, "Nonfiction," in *A Reader's Guide to Illinois Literature,* 2nd printing (revised), ed. Robert Bray (Springfield: Illinois Secretary of State, 1987), p. 5.

[3]*Illinois Literature: The Nineteenth Century,* ed. John E. Hallwas (Macomb: Illinois Heritage Press, 1986), pp. 141-44; 174-78.

[4]"Foreword," *Behind the Guns: The History of Battery I, 2nd Regiment, Illinois Light Artillery,* ed. Thaddeus C. S. Brown, et al. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1965), p. vii.

[5]C.E. Dornbusch, *Regimental Publications and Personal Narratives of the Civil War,* vol. 1, Northern States, Part I, Illinois (New York: New York Public Library, 1961), pp. 15-46.

[6]There are many studies of the autobiography (which is a kind of extended personal narrative) as literary art, a few of the diary, and very few of the letter. The following are some studies that have been helpful in developing the perspectives used in this study: Steven E. Kagle, *American Diary Literature, 1620-1799* (Boston: Twayne, 1979); Kagle, "The Diary as Art: A New Assessment," *Genre,* 6 (1973), 416-27; Thomas Mallon, *A Book of One's Own: People and Their Diaries* (New York: Ticknor and Fields, 1985); Arthur Ponsonby, *English Diaries: A Review of English Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century with an Introduction on Diary Writing* (New York: George H. Doran, 1922); M. Lincoln Schuster, "Introduction," *A Treasury of the World's Great Letters* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940), pp. xxxv-xlviii; James Olney, ed., *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1980); Olney, *Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1972); Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1960); and Karl Joachim Weintraub, *The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance in Autobiography* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978).

[7]Letter to his parents, November 28, 1863, in *We Are Sherman's Men: The Civil War Letters of Henry Orendorff,* ed. William M. Anderson. Western Illinois Monograph Series, No. 6 (Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1986), p. 71.

[8]Letter to the Journal, January 12, 1863, in *Illinois Literature: The Nineteenth Century,* p. 135. All references to Waters' letters are to this edition.

[9]*Army Life of an Illinois Soldier,* compiled by Mary E. Kellogg (Washington, D.C.: Globe Printing Co., 1906), pp. 9, 29. All references to Wills's writings are to this volume.

[10]"Introduction," *Three Years in the Army of the Cumberland: The Letters and Diary of Major James A. Connolly,* edited by Paul M. Angle (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1959), p. 5. All references to Connolly's letters and diary are to this edition.

[11]*Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York: Charles L. Webster, 1885-1886), 1, 191. All references to Grant's *Memoirs* are to this edition.

[12]*A Yankee Private's Civil War,* ed. Ashley Halsey (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1961), pp. 38-39. All references to Strong's narrative are to this edition.

[13]*The Story of a Common Soldier of Army Life in the Civil War 1861-1865* (Erie, Kansas: Press of the Erie Record, 1917), p. 7. All references to Stillwell's account are to this edition, although the pagination is identical in the 1983 Time-Life Books reprint.

[14]*The Drums of the 47th* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1914), pp. 52-53. All references to Burdette's account are to this edition.

MURDER IN A RURAL SETTING: LOGAN COUNTY HOMICIDES 1865-1900

Beverly A. Smith

Using circuit court case files and newspaper accounts, this study examines violent crime in nineteenth-century Logan County, Illinois, after the Civil War. In the center of the state, Logan County and its county seat of Lincoln were embedded in the agricultural heart of the state. For the years 1865 to 1900, available court documents record roughly 270 cases involving physical violence. The case files were sequentially numbered, and a number of files are missing. Although the case files are supplemented with material from the local newspapers, what is now available is certainly an incomplete record of even the recorded violent crime. In all but the most serious cases, the case files and newspaper accounts are incomplete, sometimes not providing anything beyond the name of the accused and the charge in the indictment. The only relatively complete picture of a violent crime in the rural area of Logan County is that for murder/manslaughter. Of course, such crimes are extraordinary events attracting much public attention and calling on all the resources of the criminal justice system. As such, murder cases may not be indicative of the overall patterns. But they are one of the widest, clearest windows through which we can observe crime and the handling of violence by the courts and law enforcement in the past.

Historians and criminal justicians alike have relatively neglected the study of the nature and amount of rural crime in favor of a focus on urban crime. In part, academicians are reacting to public fears and perceptions that crime is centered in our cities. More concretely, the sheer numbers of urban crimes virtually demand attention from both scholars and policy makers. The sophisticated statistical tests developed by the social sciences can be used profitably with these large data sets. The amount of urban crime has been or is so great that it may have essentially overwhelmed the criminal justice system and its record keeping practices at various points in our history. Political exigency may have distorted the picture of urban crime periodically, and political cronyism may have counteracted movements toward professionalism and effective bureaucratization. But the crime records of American cities are more complete, as well as larger, than those of rural areas. America's cities, at least until relatively recently, have been serviced by two or more daily newspapers printing simultaneous, if sometimes contradictory, views of public issues, including crime. In urban areas, the official records of crime, police actions, and institutionalizations have been better preserved, as have the newspaper accounts.[1]

The problems confronting historians of rural crime are many. Record keeping in many rural areas, even at the level of courts of general jurisdiction or county jails, was frequently haphazard. Subsequently, the records have been at the mercy of county clerks and other political officials with little concern for their content or physical integrity. Where complete quantitative data sets are available, sophisticated statistical tests may virtually overwhelm the relatively small size

of the data sets. Small-town newspapers seldom were long-lived. When they folded, their back files tended to disappear with them. Those that did stay in operation printed small editions, crammed the pages with fiction and recipes, devoted their front pages to tidbits from the world news, and cribbed material from other local newspapers, often without formal citation. This eclecticism left little space for crime news. Many did not publish formal editorials, and instances in which the newspapers' editors may have reflected community attitudes about crime were buried in the commentaries about the more sensational crimes. Recently there have been concerted efforts to save newspaper files and official records in state and local archives under the professional management of trained archivists, rather than the control of amateur county historians.

Using those archives and other sources, historians and criminal justicians are beginning to investigate rural crime in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But the problems involved in studying rural crime continue to limit the number and depth of those studies.[2] There is a tradition of studying rural crime on a county basis. Laurent's early work on a century of the criminal court dockets for a Wisconsin county shows how the court system responded to a changing population. In Laurent's example, Daniels outlines how courts charged with civil and criminal cases shifted priorities in relation to the mix of court business and environmental factors.[3] Probably the most famous and most detailed published study of crime and the criminal justice system in a single county is Friedman and Percival's examination of Alameda County, California, 1870-1910. Friedman and Percival trace categories of crimes from commission through the appeals of convicted defendants in the state supreme court. Changing attitudes toward plea bargaining and evolving evidentiary rules determined the flow and shape of court business. Friedman and Percival rely on court records that grew more voluminous as Alameda County's population grew and on newspaper accounts in Oakland and nearby San Francisco.[4] While using court records in his study of a single Illinois county, "Bloody Williamson," Angle relies most on newspaper accounts. Those accounts describe a rural area torn apart by Klan raids, labor conflicts in the coal mines, and Prohibition-related gang wars.[5] Many counties, including Logan County, did not have such dramatic histories.

But it is hard to deny the drama connected with homicide, manslaughter, suicide, and other forms of violent death. Beyond the pot-boilers of the nineteenth century and the paperbacks of the twentieth, historians have often concentrated on individual famous cases. Others have surveyed famous murders in an entire state.[6] These general narrative surveys point out the formulaic aspects of the contemporary accounts of the murders, aspects which are not ignored in more sophisticated examinations of the social, even political and economic context of murders.[7]

Jones places famous American murderesses against the backdrop of social changes such as gradual changes in sexual mores, the availability of birth control, the property rights of women, and the practices of courts and police. In accounts of single murders, other historians have outlined the social forces affecting the acts of violence themselves, public attitudes toward the crimes, and the reactions of the system to the murders. Working from his overall studies of homicide in nineteenth-century Kentucky, Ireland examines the traditions of ante-bellum Kentucky criminal justice through the Ward trial. That trial clearly demonstrated

the flexible definitions of self-defense within a rowdy, heavily armed population, the manipulations of press and public opinion through money, and the vastly differing abilities of lawyers trained along the informal standards of the nineteenth century.[9]

Gorn uses a 1855 saloon murder to outline the nativism and working-class culture in New York City. Barroom brawls and street fights punctuated the lives of many working-class men, hard hit by economic fluctuations, job competition from immigrants, and the hardships of slum life. Those men "lived in a transitional culture that incorporated traditional elements—such as the secret societies and faction fighting of Ireland, and the blood sports and gambling of the English and American countrysides—into a new social structure that enforced strict divisions between employers and employees, work and play, moral and immoral behavior."[10] Bloody fighting, bravado, and stubborn resistance to pain marked the lives and deaths of hundreds of working-class men, and women, in New York. Although an official transcript of the trial was unavailable from archival sources, Gorn was able to develop his extensive portrait of the murder of "Butcher" Bill Poole from extensive coverage in several newspapers, nineteenth-century sensationalized accounts, and vast historical literature that has been developed about class structure, economic opportunity, and the moral climate of New York City. The careful attention already directed at so many aspects of New York life will continue to attract other historians to examine other famous crimes, political disputes, social movements, etc., in New York. Those studying rural areas do not have such a wealth of primary information nor such a bedrock of historical studies from which to work.

Data Sources for Murder in Logan County, Illinois, 1865-1900

Historical studies of Logan County, Illinois, must still rely on two traditional county histories. *A History of Logan County* without a formal author and Stringer's book with the same title published in 1911. Slowly similar county histories are being replaced by scholarly works grounded in archival, census, and primary source data.[11] Historians of crime in Logan county have to rely on the newspaper accounts of the two newspapers, the *Lincoln Herald* and the *Lincoln Times*. These newspapers are available on microfilm at the Lincoln Public Library and through the Illinois State Archives. The two sets of microfilm were made from the same set of originals. Both sets are missing material, including editions in the midst of one of the most important murder trials of the nineteenth century.

In addition to the newspapers, there are circuit court cases files for Logan County, now housed in the Illinois State Regional Archives Depository at Illinois State University. The cases files are not complete. Some cases in the sequential numbering have disappeared from any written record, including the newspapers. A few case files were shipped to other counties as part of changes of venue and were never returned from the trial counties. Many more feature only a brief indictment and notice of witnesses that had been subpoenaed and paid for their services. The payment of a fee, more than just about anything else, led to the creation and retention of a written document. None of the files involving criminal cases includes what might even loosely be called a transcript of trial proceedings. Some indication of defense and prosecution arguments can be extracted from the detailed instructions submitted from each side to the judges for submission

to the juries. Even those which the judges refused to submit were kept in the files, because juror instructions were a frequent focus of nineteenth-century appeals. In some of the case files involving serious crimes, there are lists of jurors' signatures attached to the verdict. Much more rare are other pieces of evidence such as maps of crime scenes, documents, and newspaper clippings.

After the adoption of the 1870 Illinois constitution, each county had a three-tiered system of trial courts—circuit, county, and justice of the peace/police magistrate. The justice of the peace courts, of course, were the most limited in their jurisdiction. Elected to their positions, the justices conducted civil proceedings limited to common law issues and small amounts. In hearing criminal cases, the justices were limited to summary jurisdiction over misdemeanors and local ordinance violations punishable only by fines. Justices also sat for the preliminary stages or procedures for more serious offenses. The county court was the intermediate trial court. This court handled juvenile matters, civil commitments, often probate cases, and civil cases involving relatively small amounts. As essentially a misdemeanor court, the county court could sentence defendants to fines and/or jail terms not exceeding one year, but not to terms of imprisonment in the penitentiaries at Joliet or Menard. Each county was part of larger judicial circuit served by three judges, but only one judge at a time sat for trial. The common law jurisdiction of the circuit courts included divorces, foreclosures, partitions, and bankruptcies. In trying criminal cases the circuit court was the only one to have jurisdiction over crimes punishable by prison time or execution. "In effect, it was the felony court, although it heard less serious matters."[12] The only trial court records available for Logan County in the nineteenth century are the circuit court case files. Even though Logan County had a relatively small population with figures ranging from 14,000 residents in 1860 to roughly twice that number by the turn of the century, the circuit court frequently had more than a hundred and twenty-five cases, civil and criminal, for any one sitting. The most sensational of the murder cases took a week, ten days, or even two weeks from the impaneling of juries to the final verdicts. The murder cases then meant more than entertainment to court observers or newspaper readers.[13] They also meant considerable outlays of limited resources, mainly of time and money.

Murders in Post-Bellum Logan County

From December 31, 1865, until December 31, 1900, Logan County experienced twenty-six murders/manslaughters involving at least thirty defendents or suspects. Those twenty-six cases represent roughly 9.5% of the 270 total cases of violent crime which appear in existing circuit court case files. The information from the circuit cases files has been supplemented by newspaper accounts. Those twenty-six cases fall into six simple categories, each saying something about the level of violent crime in a rural area and public attitudes toward those crimes. The six categories are: violent deaths ruled homicides by coroners' juries which did not result in indictments or proceedings that reached the circuit court level; murder/suicides; cases in which the accused's defense rested on an insanity plea; abortions/infanticides; long-standing personal disputes or bar/street fights that resulted in deaths; and famous cases including one triple murder.

In November, 1870, the body of an unknown woman was found near Salt Creek. She died as the result of an apparent beating. With a detailed description published in the newspaper and a $300 reward offered, the identity of the body was revealed to be that of "Anna," apparently one of several prostitutes living and working in the county seat of Lincoln. Over the next ten months, two women on different occasions confessed to her murder. The authorities considered more seriously the confession of Emma Hammond, described as " 'woman of the town' " or fellow prostitute, who said that while both were drunk they had quarreled over whiskey. During the struggle, Hammond then used a stick to strike "Anna," full or real name still unknown. Also implicated was William Fitzgerald, whose relationship to the two women is unclear. When nearly a dozen witnesses placed him in Sangamon County at the time of the murder, authorities released both of the accused. Hammond was "sent on her way rejoicing."[14] No one ever stood trial for the bludgeon murder of "Anna." As an unknown prostitute, "Anna" did not attract much sympathy, even as the proverbial soiled, crippled dove. Even less sympathy went to the tramp bludgeoned to death in 1895 for his clothing and additional liquor. His murderers "in all likelihood, are now lost in that tide of worthless wanderers that is continually drifting from one part of the country to another."[15]

Scattered through the time period were four cases of murder or attempted murder and suicide of the assailant, three of the four involving husbands who attacked their wives. In 1870 J. H. Phipps had been married to his wife less than a year before they were formally separated. She had proven in court that their "marital relations were not of the most pleasant character" and that he "had treated her more unto a servant, than as the wife of his bosom."[16] On the day of the shootings, Phipps had gone to his in-laws' home to convince his wife to return with him to the marital home. She agreed, but was accompanied home by her mother. Once in his home he forced his wife into another room where he shot both her and himself in the head.

In April, 1879, a German farmer, Charles Herbeck became estranged from his wife and took up residence in a Lincoln Hotel. After five days in the hotel, he returned to his home and shot his wife in the back as she ironed. He then shot himself. "Herbeck was strongly under the influence of liquor when he did this shooting. The cause of the action is said to be jealousy."[17] But there had also been repeated quarrels over petty household issues as well.

In September of 1894, the disputes of another farm couple resulted in a murder/suicide. Narcissa Walcott had been married to Isaac Walcott for about ten years. "For several years past their wedded life had been anything but pleasant."[18] One day after, Narcissa Walcott had filed for a hearing of her divorce petition which cited cruelty and adultery, a petition to be heard during the next sitting of the circuit court, she returned to her home accompanied by a constable to retrieve some of her clothing. Soon after entering the home, she was killed by a blast from her husband's shotgun. Before the constable could fire his own weapon or restrain the husband, Isaac Walcott turned the gun on himself.

In all three instances, there was evidence of long-standing quarrels, even physical violence directed against the wives by their spouses. The violence was aggravated by jealousy, liquor, and the isolation of farm life. Petty quarrels punctuated everyday life. And the violence and quarreling were generally known

to members of the community, who nonetheless did not intervene unless they were family members. The catalysts for the violence seem to have been actions which made their disputes more public—a partner leaving the marital home and/or filing for a divorce. And the criminal justice system failed those few women who took the extraordinary step of making their abuse, or at least their quarrels public. The slow workings of the circuit court delayed the formal hearing of petitions for divorces, and the police were untrained or at least taken unawares by the violence of domestic disputes.[19]

The other murder/suicide involved two brothers. Charles Deane, who had just returned from Sunday School, killed his brother with one revolver shot in the head and three in the stomach. When discovered near the body of his brother Leverett with the gun still in his hand, Charles fled to his room, locked the door, and fired one shot into his heart, which also set his clothing on fire. There had apparently not been any quarrels between the two men, and the newspaper argued that "Charles at times suffered from aberration of the mind and that it was under the influence of one of these spells that the deed was committed."[20] The *Lincoln Times* offered no examples of his aberrations, but not coincidentally it did offer sympathy to the family.

Newspaper accounts and circuit case files disclose four known cases of infanticide. In March, 1871, Julia Etta Worth and Mary Ann Osborn were indicted for the "choking, suffocating, and drowning" of Osborn's illegitimate newborn son.[21] The prosecution argued that Julia Etta Worth, also known as Mrs. Dr. J. E. DeNewkirk, was a practicing abortionist who had helped kill the infant. The usual defense arguments were made that the baby had been stillborn or had died before fully separate from the mother's body. The prosecution tried to paint a picture of the deliberate death of an illegitimate baby to shield its mother from society's disapproval. The case was sensational enough to receive a change of venue to adjoining McLean county where a first jury was hung. A second jury found both women not guilty, probably because it was so difficult to discover the manner of death.

Narcissa Barger in 1876 was indicted and tried for the strangulation murder of an illegitimate male newborn. None of the court testimony has survived, but jury instructions indicate that the defense tried to create reasonable doubts to as the cause of the infant's death and the defendant's intent. Considering obstetrical knowledge at the time, it was not unusual to see marks of violence upon the bodies of newborn infants. And the defense further argued that the killing, if it did occur, "was done while the defendant was temporarily unconscious and had no intention to kill said child."[22] Juries traditionally were reluctant to punish infanticide, and in Illinois the usual punishment asked for by the prosecution was fourteen years in the state penitentiary. Narcissa Barger was found, like so many others, not guilty.

Even less is known about two other cases of infanticide. Parthena Curry (alias Puss Wilson) was accused also in 1876 of having beaten her infant male child against the floor boards. From the existing record, it is unclear what happened to Curry, but her possible association with prostitution as indicated by her alias may have meant less sympathy from the jury for her. The only married woman accused of infanticide may never have reached trial. Mary Riefe and her husband John were taken into custody for the death of a male infant whose body was

found in a privy vault, one of the frequent disposal areas for stillborn or murdered children.[23] The outcome of the Riefe case is unknown.

The circuit court case files reveal two cases of abortions resulting in the deaths of the women involved. In 1895 Eddie Cook was tried and convicted of procuring an abortion for Minnie Bennett. The physician who apparently performed the abortion committed suicide before the trial. Although the jury was not allowed to hear the testimony about the suicide, Bennett's mother related how her dying daughter had blamed the doctor and Cook for her approaching death.[24] The defense tried to prove through the testimony of two other doctors that she had injured herself by trying to induce an abortion and had solicited a number of doctors for assistance once she began to hemorrhage. Despite the defense's arguments, Cook was convicted and sentenced to fourteen years.

More than a decade earlier, in 1882, the county had been rocked by another more celebrated abortion case. Lillie Bell, the nineteen-year-old daughter of a widow, died at the Mt. Pulaski (Logan County) home of Dr. Phillip Oyler, who was indicted for murder along with John Houston, her supposed lover. In separate trials both men were acquitted. Why were they acquitted and Cook was not? For one thing, Bell had traveled extensively by rail in the week before her death. According to witnesses, including some doctors, Bell solicited several physicians to perform an abortion, but those who testified noted that they had refused. Their relative nonchalance in reporting her solicitations and the detailed reports by physicians who examined her dead body led the *Lincoln Times* to comment that it was "remarkable how much they have all had to do with cases of abortion. . ."[25] Abortion was probably more commonplace than the newspaper was willing to admit in print. And the fact that physicians were so often approached to perform abortions or treat botched ones may have led the jury to accept Oyler's actions of calling in witnesses to hear the girl's repeated dying declaration that he had not performed the abortion which was taking her life.[26] More telling was the fact that the prosecution could not account for so much of the girl's time during the week between her departure from her mother's home and her death. The defense was able to put train personnel and other passengers on the stand who testified that they had seen Bell traveling and stopping in various parts of the county in an apparent attempt to find a sympathetic, if criminal doctor. In addition, the maid of a hotel where Bell stayed testified that the girl had begun to hemorrhage before she was seen in Mt. Pulaski, much less near the doctor's home. The verdict of not guilty in the Oyler trial "caused a general outburst from the spectators of approval."[27] He was acquitted before the trial of Bell's supposed lover, John Houston. Dr. Oyler was later called in by the coroner and law enforcement agents to help investigate subsequent cases of violence.

John Houston was put on trial for having encouraged, aided, abetted, and assisted in the abortion by loaning her $100. The circuit record includes a pathetic penciled note apparently from Bell to Houston in which she describes herself darkened by "a shadow forever across their path and a cloud over the future that will never pass away . . ."[28] But apparently the prosecution could not link Houston to the actual payment for the abortion, and the jury voted him not guilty. Letters in which the pregnant women admitted their condition and their attempts to abort the fetuses was frequently introduced in court, but those letters were often so poorly written or so laced with homilies and guilt that they worked

as much for the female defendants, their lovers, and even the doctors as for the prosecution.[29] These abortion and infanticide cases also point out how mobile and resourceful many of these rural and small-town women were in their attempts to find a skilled abortionist or dispose of an unwanted or illegitimate child.

Logan County juries were less forgiving of men charged with murder who pled the insanity defense. In November, 1880, coal miner John Clare shot his friend and former boarder, Daniel Conners, to death. That day and later at his trial Clare claimed that the much younger Connors had drugged and then raped Clare's sixty-year old wife. The two men had been acquainted for years, beginning when both had been miners in Pennsylvania. Connors had boarded with the Clares, even after Clare, according to his own rambling testimony, had supposedly discovered the rape. The jury was left to wonder why Clare allowed Connors to stay in the home, remained the younger man's friend for three years, and waited to shoot Connor until both were in the house of Clare's married daughter. According to all accounts, Clare and Connor had not quarreled on the day of the shooting, and Clare from a seated position shot Connor, also in a chair. The defendant's counsel could not prove self-defense or immediate reprisal for a wrong. As one of the prosecution's instructions correctly argued, in law rape could not be revenged by murder.[30] On the stand Clare himself repeatedly argued that he had been justified in taking the law into his own hands, would kill Connors again, and wanted to kill a man whom he believed to be Connor's accomplice:

> [I]. . .took the law into my own hands and am willing to suffer for it if I did wrong; bought the revolver in Frorer's store; went to Springfield to shoot Maskil; I looked for him after I left my wife at the depot; didn't want to arrest him for the outrage perpetrated, don't want to do it now; I'll perpetrate [sic] him when I meet him . . .[31]

While appearing somewhat irrational on the stand, Clare still testified to enacting a long-term, if simplistic plan of revenge, traveling to carry it out, and consistently, stubbornly refusing to use the law to avenge his wrongs.

The defense called family members, other than Clare's wife, and co-workers to testify about his behavior. All reported that he had been acting strangely for three to five years before the shooting, but they could not cite specific instances. It was through the testimony of two expert witnesses that the defense really tried to prove Clare's insanity. Those out-of-town experts, paid to testify as elicited by the prosecution, had either only spent half an hour with the defendant or relied solely on the defendant's testimony on the stand to make their judgments. The prosecution countered with the brief testimony of several local physicians who argued that insanity, or softening of the brain which one defense expert had cited, could not be so easily diagnosed. The prosecution pointed to the defendant's drinking habits as an explanation for his erratic behavior. It was an explanation that the jury may have accepted. The jury was more likely to have been swayed by the doubting testimony of local doctors known to the members, the cold-bloodedness of the shooting, and the fact that Clare's wife never took the stand to refute (insanity defense) or substantiate (justifiable revenge) Clare's story of her being raped while drugged. The defense's main strategy seems to have been to let the defendant ramble on and on under direct examination in hopes of convincing the jury of his insanity. Instead the jury found him guilty and fixed the penalty at fifteen years.

A decade and a half later, Logan County saw another important trial in which the defendant pled not guilty by reason of insanity against a murder charge. On Sunday, July 21, 1895, a retired farmer named Louis McAfee was shot in the back by an unknown assailant.[32] Tracks led from the McAfee house to a public road where the sheriff lost the trail. The next day two citizens who had formed part of the search party happened on a man who fit the description of a tramp seen the Saturday before near the McAfee home and other close houses. His shoes fit the tracks around the McAfee home and fields.[33] When arrested he gave his name as Charles S. King, but when told that the coroner's jury had pointed to him as the murderer he admitted that his real name was James L. Giles. Five years before, he claimed that he had received a special revelation of a second coming which he was authorized to announce. He also admitted that he had been hospitalized in a Columbus, Ohio, insane asylum at about the same time. Letters from the local Ohio sheriff and asylum officials confirmed that he had been a patient for less than a year.

His record of institutionalization became the chief tactic for his defense team. Unlike today, however, officials from the Ohio asylum did not appear in person at the trial. Instead the defense had to rely on depositions. In those depositions, asylum officials confirmed the original diagnosis, pronounced him cured at his discharge, or indicated that they did not remember his case. The only former staff member who remembered Giles precisely and believed the defendant insane had become a street car conductor by the time he gave his deposition.[34] Neither the prosecution nor the defense called any expert testimony, perhaps because the defense could not afford to pay expenses and the prosecution believed their case a certainty without the sometimes controversial testimony of experts. Because Giles was not a member of the community, no one from Logan County could testify to a pattern of behavior. His sister and an Ohio neighbor who did appear on the stand in his behalf had not seen him for years. When Giles took the stand in his own defense, he swore that he had not killed McAfee and that he himself was the victim of a prejudice against people down on their luck, tramps forced out onto the open road.

For the prosecution, McAfee's wife and son testified that they had fed Giles the day before the shooting. Several other neighbors testified that they had done the same for more than a week before the murder. Other members of the community reported that Giles had brandished a revolver at them and demanded money. They had been able to frighten him off by throwing rocks. Faced with compelling circumstantial evidence, the defendant confessed during a court recess to his attorneys, then in open court. In contrast to his earlier coherent testimony, the defendant said that "the angels of the Lord"[35] had told him to kill McAfee and that his mission was to preach of the second coming to people that would proclaim his innocence. In sentencing Giles, the judge noted that Giles, if set free, might have another revelation and kill again. To Giles, he said:

> You may be insane on some subjects. I believe you are. But the authorities may transfer you if they see fit, to an insane asylum. It is greatly to the credit of the people that they didn't look upon insanity as an excuse for crime as they used to.[36]

Giles was sentenced to seventeen years in Joliet Prison, one of the harshest punishments handed down in the post-Civil War period. A maniacal preacher, turned tramp, thief, and murderer received little sympathy from a community

which felt that its acts of charity in a time of hardship had been betrayed.

More numerous than any other category is that concerning barroom brawls, street fights, and personal disputes. Eleven cases fit this category. In two of the cases, the exact legal proceedings taken against the indicted suspects are unknown—John Warrick's pocket knife stabbing of a guest of the Lincoln House in the hotel's office and William P. Hackney's 1867 bludgeoning of Daniel Hay with a three-foot piece of wood.

The following four killings apparently were part of bar or street fights. In 1867 John Allison was charged with and acquitted of manslaughter in the beating death of William Lyttle. Likewise, Perry Ashurst was acquitted of the knifing death of James Walton in 1870. David McBrier and Robert Young were found not guilty of murder in the stabbing death of Daniel Easley in the late winter of 1868. Benjamin Huston was acquitted in the 1896 shooting of George Kitson. The jury accepted his version of accidental death; Huston claimed that he had carried the pistol into a crowded barroom and fired it to annoy a local constable. From these cases and those on less deadly assaults, it is clear that many in Logan County walked the streets and highways armed with knives, revolvers, and brass knuckles. The "rules" of street/bar fights included using anything at hand to strike an opponent. Juries were well aware of the arming of their fellow citizens and the "rules of combat," and few convictions for assault and murder resulted from the fights. The defendants could all too easily claim accident or self-defense.

William Brown, known as Uncle Willy, used the self-defense plea in his 1888 trial for the back shooting of Thomas Gasaway. The two had apparently quarreled over $.50 owed Brown from a liquor purchase. Brown was a town trouble-maker in Latham, another small community in Logan County. He had had both legs amputated because of frost-bite that he had suffered during a drunken stupor. He lived in a shanty near the tracks and survived on charity and casual labor. Gasaway was married with one child and led a more respectable life. According to newspaper accounts, the jury favored punishments ranging from one year to hanging and compromised on ten years.[37]

The self-defense plea was successful in some shootings that arose out of long-standing disputes. Frank Fletcher and James Daley, both unmarried farm workers had had a long dispute involving a woman. Their dispute had been punctuated with threats. In November, 1875, Fletcher fired a shotgun point blank at Daley's chest. Daley died after having named Fletcher as his assailant, a charge which Fletcher did not deny. In its original news story, the *Lincoln Times* referred to the shooting as "a murder, cold-blooded and atrocious. . ."[38] The case was sensational enough to merit a change of venue to Sangamon County, where after hearing 70 to 80 witnesses the jury found Fletcher not guilty along an argument of self-defense.[39]

Two neighbors, Martin Turley and Timothy Murphy, were engaged in a long-standing dispute about whether Murphy's cattle could graze in common land between the two farms, from which the cattle could easily wander into Turley's fields. One evening in August, 1876, the two men tried to drive Murphy's herd in opposite directions along a road and came to blows. Murphy died as a result of a head wound inflicted with a stick or club. The jury at the January, 1876, trial acquitted Turley. "The result was viewed differently by different persons, but, from the nature of the evidence and the general disposition of juries on

murder cases, had been anticipated by the great majority of those who heard the testimony."[40] Turley claimed that he was on his own land when attacked by a club-wielding, larger Murphy. Wrestling the club from Murphy's hands, Turley struck once at his assailant. Apparently threats and civil suits had punctuated their prior relationship, and Turley was able to argue through a series of witnesses at the trial that Murphy had the worse reputation and that Turley had struck only one blow.

In the less contentious times of the 1890s, two defendants tried similar self-defense pleas when accused of killing old enemies and were convicted and sentenced to prison. In 1894 workers from the Lincoln brickyard were divided into rival groups, one headed by David Roebottom and the other by the Walker brothers, Lon and Lovel. As both gangs left work and went down a Lincoln street, a fight broke out and the two parties pelted each other with brick bats. The next night, a Saturday, Roebottom and Lovel Walker confronted one another on the streets. At that point accounts began to differ. At the resulting murder trial Walker's attorneys tried to argue that Roebottom, released three years before from the Lincoln Home for the Feeble-Minded, attacked Walker. The prosecution argued that Walker, without provocation or any danger to his own life, fired his revolver point blank at Roebottom. The jury agreed with the prosecution and sentenced Walker to sixteen years.[41]

Daniel Herrick and George Davis apparently became involved in a dispute over Herrick's wife in 1897. When the two fought, Herrick killed Davis by firing a bullet into his head. The defense claimed that Davis had assaulted the defendant with an axe and that the defendant, to protect his property, could have legally refused to retreat. The prosecution charged that Herrick killed in revenge for Davis's adultery with the defendant's wife. The prosecution also pointed to confessions the defendant had made upon arrest. The jury sentenced Herrick to forty years, the second longest sentence for a violent crime in the post-war period.[42]

The most famous dispute between old enemies was the shooting of Henry Talbott by Shepherd S. Bell on New Year's Day, 1879, in a downtown Lincoln store. Talbott, the twenty-six year old son of a state legislator, rented farm land from Bell, a thirty-five year old teacher turned law student. By the fall of 1878, disputes over rents and land usage had escalated into civil suits that left both parties owing each other money. The two men upon meeting on the streets arranged for some of the money to be paid, but when both parties could not agree on the amounts, the dispute became physical. Ultimately Bell fired two revolver shots into Talbott, as the latter held Bell's legs. After being carried from the site of the shooting, Talbott lived long enough to name Bell as his assailant in a lengthy dying declaration.

A change of venue motion took the case to McLean County court where the Logan County State's Attorney, assisted by his colleague in McLean and counsel paid for by the victim's family, outlined the enmity between the two men. According to a series of prosecution witnesses, Bell had repeatedly threatened to kill Talbott with a gun. In the words of one, Bell " 'said he would have no more hesitation in killing HT than in killing a dog.' "[43] Bell provoked the fatal confrontation that New Year's Day.

On some elements of the shooting, both prosecution and defense agreed. When the two first confronted each other on the streets, they agreed to meet later to settle at least part of their debts. In the interim, Bell went to a jeweler's, bought a revolver, had the jeweler load the gun, and placed it in his pocket. With the banks not open, Talbott and Bell met in a local store which had three rooms, a grocery, a dry goods store, and a shoe repair store. One of the owners of the store obliged Talbott by giving him a blank check which he filled out in Bell's favor for the rent of the farmland. Bell then refused to pay the court settlement due Talbott.

Accounts from that point on differed. According to the prosecution, when the dispute heated up again, Bell pulled the revolver out of his pocket, brandished it about, and tried to intimidate Talbott who was standing several feet away. Two owners of the store tried to intervene, but Bell refused their arbitration of the dispute. Bell claimed that he was in danger, but refused to leave by any of the four doors available to him, to the stores on either side, the street in front, or the alley behind. When Talbott lunged at the legs of the defendant to protect himself, Bell fired three shots at him. Talbott had already been hit when Bell fired the fatal second shot into Talbott who was still on his knees. Bell went out onto the street where he was arrested by a town constable. Doctors were able to extract one, but not both, of the bullets which actually hit Talbott. In his dying declaration, the victim said that he was walking away from the defendant when Bell said: "By G_____, old gentleman, I'll fix you yet." Talbott "believed that from his [Bell's] actions he was going to shoot me, and tried to take his revolver away from him."[44] Talbott claimed he had not tried to strike Bell.

The defense tried to have the dying declaration excluded from the trial by claiming that Talbott was an atheist, who believing in no punishment after death, would have been free to lie. The judge overruled the defense motion by saying that the law now admitted the sworn testimony of atheists and infidels. The defense developed different pictures of the long-term relationship and events of the day of the shooting. According to defense witnesses, the larger, stronger Talbott had physically intimidated and threatened the much smaller, disabled Bell. Bell had served in the Civil War and contracted typhoid which the doctors believed had cost him the full use of his left arm. In the mid-1870s, while Bell was boarding with Talbott's family, his right arm was injured by a brick falling from a chimney that was being fixed. Essentially the defense argued that Bell had no other way of protecting himself than to use a revolver. The defendant, assisted by his wife, stripped to the waist in court so that the jury could see his withered left arm and his generally debilitated condition. The defense claimed through the demonstration and testimony from jail officials in McLean County that Bell could not dress himself. In his four hours on the stand, Bell also claimed that Talbott had struck him when the two first argued on the street, had pushed him again in the store when the two were unobserved for about ten minutes, and had struck Bell hard enough to cause an abrasion on his face. Bell further claimed that Talbott was blocking some of the doors otherwise available for retreat and that snow piled high in the alley precluded his fleeing there. Two additional defense witnesses, John Pletz and a local constable, reported that they had heard Talbott threaten Bell.

In rebuttal, the prosecution brought seven witnesses to the stand who essentially called Pletz a liar. They also brought another series of witnesses who reported seeing Bell play the fiddle, dance, pitch hay, plow fields, garden, play sports, and wrestle. The prosecution even brought on the stand men who had shoveled snow in the alley and remembered its height as allowing someone to move through it.

After more than 12 hours of summation by the opposing counsels and lengthy deliberations by jury in March 1880, the McLean County jury was unable to agree on a verdict. The *Lincoln Herald* reported that the jury had split 8 to 4 for acquittal.[45] In late November and early December, another McLean jury heard much the same testimony and also could not agree on a verdict, with 9 for a conviction of manslaughter and 3 for complete acquittal.[46] When questioned by reporters after the second hung jury, the state's attorney noted that "Talbott was shot down in cold blood without provocation and that his slayer should be brought to justice if it takes many more trials and that the county can ill afford to let a crime of this kind go unpunished, even if it does cost largely in time and trouble and money." Any additional trials would "be left pretty largely to the wishes of Talbott's friends."[47]

The controversy over yet another trial for Bell was carried over many months with the *Lincoln Times* charging that press in Bloomington, the McLean County seat, had formed a conspiracy to protect Bell, whom they painted as a sympathetic figure.[48] When Bell was tried for a third time, the proceedings were held in Sangamon County at the instigation of the prosecution. There, finally Bell was acquitted. After only three and half hours of deliberation, the jury freed Shepherd Bell from all charges in March of 1882, two years after his first trial.

The most famous crime in post-Civil War Logan County was an 1882 triple murder. In a rural corner of the county, a bachelor farmer, Charles McMahon, 46, and his two farm hands, Robert Matheny, 21, and John Carlock, 16, were found on Sunday, August 20, 1882 near McMahon's shabby farmhouse. All three had been apparently led from the house, bound, gagged, and then had their throats slit. The murders were judged to have taken place two days earlier, August 18, soon after McMahon had been paid $1,200 for the sale of his hogs. McMahon had taken the money with him back to the farm, and the money was not found on the farm after the bodies were discovered. Headlines in the *Lincoln Times* called the crime "Murder Most Foul!—An Atrocious Deed Done by Fiends Incarnate."[49] Immediate suspicion centered on a few respectable citizens who were "justly indignant at the scandalous manner in which their names have been used and their reputations outraged by sensationalists"[50] and on itinerant workers. Tramps and various members of the community were called in for questioning including William Ferris, but all were released.

In February, 1884, the case broke with the arrest of three persons for the triple murder—John Hall, his wife Belle Hall, and her brother William Ferris, one of the original suspects. A month prior to the arrests, the county supervisors had contracted with the Pinkertons based in Chicago to investigate the case. Their detective, G.W. Griswold, posed as various salesmen in the community to learn what rumors were circulating in the community. Griswold focused on Ferris and Hall; employed one of Hall's friends, David Long, to accompany Hall to St. Louis; and then followed Long and Hall to their St. Louis hotel room. There

Griswold, his brother, and at least one other person from Logan County listened across the transom from the next room as Long maneuvered Hall into virtually confessing to the crime.

The trial began in June, on Hall's forty-second birthday. Although the three were tried jointly, each had a separate attorney. Belle Hall, perhaps reflecting her financial state, was represented by a court-appointed attorney. Other prominent members of the Logan bar represented the other defendants; for example, Ferris was represented by a sitting member of the state senate. And a special prosecutor was selected to represent the state, which also paid to have a stenographer record the testimony. The trial began with much excitement. More than fifty persons were questioned in voir dire before a jury could be selected. The jurors were cautioned by the judge not to read local papers containing accounts of the crime and trial. The judge also excused prospective witnesses from the courtroom, an extraordinary decision for the time. It was clear from the beginning that the judge was also going to keep decorum in the courtroom.

The trial itself was rather anti-climactic. And the newspapers noted that attendance in the courtroom dropped off as the long trial continued. Long, the Pinkertons' paid informant, related how he had used a quarrel between Hall and his wife to foster distrust between the two and ingratiate himself. During one of their quarrels, Hall had struck his wife and been placed in jail. Long bailed Hall out of jail and became his constant companion. Traveling through St. Louis, supposedly on their way to open a saloon in Texas, Long and Hall bought new knives because Hall said he had had to throw his old one away after the McMahon killing.[51] They both shaved their beards and colored their mustaches to alter their appearances. While Hall and Long played cards in their hotel room, their conversations were overheard by the detective and his party. The next day the men were lured back across the river to East St. Louis where they were arrested by Griswold, who apparently had been given special arrest powers. The rest of the state's case was made up of small bits of information such as Hall being seen with a powerful knife before the murder, the fact that his shoe size and conformation matched tracks found near the murders, and reports that Hall knew McMahon had money. Against the web of circumstantial evidence, the defense really only had the defendant to put on the stand. He denied the killing and placed the blame for anything the pair did in St. Louis with Long. Hall's attempt to prove an alibi fell apart.

The state's cases against the other two defendants were weaker. The state could only link Belle Hall to having made the gags used on the victims, and there was no clear evidence that she knew their purpose when she made them. From correspondence sent by Belle Hall to a friend, it is apparent that after the murders she suspected that her husband and brother had committed the crimes. She was portrayed as an abused spouse forced to keep quiet. The defense of her brother William Ferris was essentially proving an alibi for the murder. The defense called to the stand a lengthy list of witnesses who reported seeing Ferris the night of the murder at a wedding celebration in Macoupin County, far from the murder site. The date had been fixed in peoples' minds by the wedding; and the actual wedding certificate was brought into court. Some who were at the celebration and others reported that Ferris had been harvesting during the time surrounding the murders, also in Macoupin County. Payment books, precise memories about

bad weather, and a commonly remembered sequence of farms for the thrashing gang fixed that period. Such memory keys were commonplace for members of the jury who voted to acquit both Belle Hall and William Ferris. John Hall was sentenced to life imprisonment. In jail after the life sentence and a year later when interviewed in Joliet Prison, Hall vehemently denied his guilt.[52] He died still a prisoner in Joliet.

At the same time the triple murder was being investigated, Logan county had another dramatic murder. In October of 1883, the body of Missouri "Zura" Burns was found along a lane near Lincoln. Her throat had been cut, and subsequent medical examination revealed that she had been approximately five months pregnant. At the time of her death, she had been living above a Decatur saloon. Complaining of a throat ailment, she supposedly took a train to Vandalia for treatment, but instead she arrived in Lincoln where she had worked as a servant in the home of Orrin A. Carpenter, co-owner of a grain business. Taking a room in a local hotel, she visited Carpenter at his business. She stayed about fifteen minutes, and they did not leave together. After dinner alone at the hotel, Burns was not seen alive again. As public suspicion centered on her "seducer" as the murderer, the coroner held extensive hearings on the body. By the time Carpenter was called to testify before the coroner, he was already the chief suspect. On the advice of counsel, he refused to speak at the coroner's inquest.[53]

During the five days of preliminary hearings which followed the coroner's inquest, attention continued to center on Carpenter and on the character of Burns. Carpenter was reported as having stayed in a Peoria hotel with a young woman registered as his daughter, but tentatively identified as Burns. Residents of Decatur and family members related that letters, money, and fancy dresses had come from Lincoln for Zura. And most damning of all, several persons in Lincoln reported that a buggy that they had heard or seen near the murder scene looked like Carpenter's. However, the witnesses to the buggy ride could not definitely identify the buggy, nor its driver and passenger.

Testimony at the preliminary hearing was damning to the character of Burns. She apparently had at least three fiances at one time, two in Decatur and one waiting for her in Kansas. As the defense implied, anyone of them could have impregnated Burns and been a part of a blackmail scheme which soured when Carpenter refused to pay. The Decatur witnesses who linked Burns and Carpenter included a woman who ran a house of assignation.[54] Zura's choice of friends did nothing to raise the level of community sympathy for her death. At the end of the preliminary hearing, the *Lincoln Times* commented editorially that: "The evidence if wholly circumstantial and does not appear to be at all conclusive to show the defendant's guilt. . . ."[55]

The state went ahead with an indictment and trial in 1884. At the trial the prosecution did not put Zura's Decatur friend on the stand, added more Lincoln witnesses who reported seeing the buggy on the night of the murder, and changed toward a focus on physical evidence. Beyond the buggy tracks, the physical evidence consisted of hairpins found in Carpenter's buggy by a Chicago private detective. Various witnesses including family members and storekeepers linked the hairpins to Burns, while defense witnesses were equally convincing that the hairpins were ordinary ones which could not be differentiated from thousands of others sold in Illinois. The prosecution also brought in doctors from Chicago

medical schools to examine the buggy reins for blood. The defense argued successfully that testimony about the blood should be excluded from court because the reins had not been in the constant custody of the police since Carpenter was first suspected and questioned. Outside of court, the Chicago forensic expert also admitted that he could not positively identify the blood as human.

Part of the newspaper coverage of the trial is missing from the microfilm records, but it seems clear that Carpenter took the stand in his own defense and denied all the charges of being her seducer and her murderer. The jury agreed and acquitted him. However, the trial bankrupted both his pocketbook and his reputation. He sold his business and moved out of state. In December of 1884, he returned to Lincoln to conduct business matters. Zura's father saw him on the city streets, followed him to an office, and fired a twenty-two revolver at Carpenter. The ball missed. Carpenter left town again, a free man.

Conclusion

The roughly two dozen murders scattered through the latter half of the nineteenth century were part of the violence that permeated the lives of rural and small town Logan County, Illinois. The murders were another example of how precarious life could be on what had been the frontier just decades before. Typhoid, cholera, tetanus, smallpox, whooping cough, diphtheria, bitter winter cold, blistering summer heat, suicides, mining accidents, runaway horses, railroad crashes took many more lives each year than the total number of murders from 1865 to 1900. The people were accustomed to a certain level of violence in their lives. So while murders, especially some of the more gruesome or spectacular ones, attracted their attention, there was no particular fear that murder would overwhelm them personally or tear the fabric of their society. The level of violence may have also made them more forgiving of those accused of murder, especially women accused of infanticide. The low rate of convictions may have also come because so many in the community acknowledged, consciously or not, that they themselves could very easily become involved in the violence of a street, barroom, or even bedroom.

The murders were more than just another type of violence in rural nineteenth-century communities. Of course, there are dangers in making generalizations from so few cases, but these cases do provide snapshot pictures of some of the darkest corners of rural life. While violence and death were relatively commonplace, murder was not. People involved in violent crimes were caught unawares and revealed hidden aspects of their lives. For example, the cases of wives being murdered by their violent, suicidal husbands revealed the brutality sometimes present in what others in the nineteenth century tried to picture as the idyllic, egalitarian countryside. The isolation, and possibly the poverty of farm life for many, the ready availability of liquor, and the easy access to weapons including hunting rifles were factors in this rural domestic violence. Public attention played a dual role in these cases. Once the long-term antagonisms between spouses became public, the husbands reacted with even greater violence than before against their wives' open disloyalty. The deaths then meant that friends or at least neighbors, for abusive relationships featured jealousy and enforced isolation, spoke about their own knowledge of the troubled marriages. Those neighbors had apparently not intervened, nor had most members of the couples' extended

families. And, even more than today, the police were unable and unwilling to intercede.

The other domestic murder/suicide involved an obviously insane assailant. As he was a member of an otherwise respectable family, both he and his family were sympathized with by the community. The same community had little sympathy for transient Giles or working-class, troublesome Clare, who also claimed insanity. Both of these cases also showed the limits of "expert" testimony on mental states in the nineteenth century. Ordinary doctors were called on to give such testimony, and their places were not yet taken by academic specialists or asylum managers, except in the most famous cases like the trial of presidential assassin Guiteau. Lack of funds limited the defendants' opportunities to hire such witnesses.

A lack of money also marked two other types of cases. The women accused in the abortion or infanticide cases barely had the price of a backstairs illegal abortion, much less the price of an elaborate defense. Against the dangers of abortion, those women, most often unmarried, measured the social costs of giving birth in a closely-knit community which they could not or would not leave. It is more than a little ironic that juries from that same community were generally so forgiving of the crimes. The juries also recognized that local doctors, many probably doing abortions, were only marginally more knowledgeable about post-natal deaths than they were about insanity.

The community also took in stride the deaths of transients, men and women alike. With no families and their deaths being discovered after some delay, their cases were not pressed. Nor, perhaps, could they have been because of a lack of evidence and witnesses. The community also seemed to accept grudgingly the fatalities in bar and street fights which happened with some regularity over the four decades. Even respectable citizens found themselves caught up in boisterous, often violent political and temperance demonstrations. And the working class deaths resulting from drunkenness were just further proof to temperance advocates of their arguments about the evils of liquor. There also seems to have been some feeling that the so-called lower class elements were expected to be involved and that they would readily turn to a variety of deadly weapons which were easily available—knives, bricks, ax handles, hammers, and guns, including handguns. As the revolver became cheaper and more reliable, it also became more plentiful.

When murder crossed class lines or involved the prominent, the cases became sensational and the trials lengthy and intricate. The defendants in the triple murder case were accused of brutal, premeditated murders for profit. Businessman Carpenter was accused of killing his pregnant ex-maid in the most melodramatic of the three. And Talbott and Bell took their financial and personal disagreements to a violent confrontation. Despite the sensationalism of these cases and often multiple trials, most of those defendents were found not guilty. Why so many not guilty verdicts when the community seemed to be convinced at the outsets of those cases that the defendants were guilty? In part the answer to that question rests with the nature of local law enforcement, which was undermanned, untrained, politically rather than professionally oriented, and often so inept as to be almost comical to even contemporaries. Though private detectives, assumed

to be more experienced, were called in, they were viewed with suspicion by local juries.

Lastly, the quality of the local practice of law was certainly responsible for the high number of acquittals. Judges with some regularity granted changes of venue because of pretrial publicity and maintained some level of courtroom decorum. They also protected defendants' rights against self-incrimination long before landmark Supreme Court cases. They also made some efforts to keep prejudiced jurors off the panels and protect evidence from tampering. The real key to the number of not guilty verdicts was probably the skills of the attorneys. Although better-off defendants could afford to hire outsiders, their defenses were still largely in the hands of local attorneys. Those same attorneys also defended the most destitute defendants, apparently with the same zeal and legal insights. Their blend of oratory, both commonsensical and emotional, and up-to-date legal argument persuaded judges and juries alike. Their professional skills in the courtroom were far in advance of those of law enforcement or even doctors. Skilled criminal lawyers did not just practice in Chicago; they also set professional standards and legal precedents in rural downstate Illinois.

NOTES

[1]Examples of studies of nineteenth-century urban crime include: Roger Lane, *Roots of Violence in Black Philadelphia, 1860-1900* (Cambridge, MA, 1986); Roger Lane, *Violent Death in the City: Suicide, Accident, and Murder in Nineteenth-century Philadelphia* (Cambridge, MA, 1979); John C. Schneider, *Detroit and the Problem of Disorder, 1830-1880: A Geography of Crime, Riot, and Policing.* (Lincoln, NE, 1980); E. H. Monkkonen, *The Dangerous Class: Crime and Poverty in Columbus, Ohio, 1860-1885 (Cambridge, MA, 1975);* and E. H. Monkkonen, *Police in Urban America, 1860-1920* (Cambridge, MA, 1981).

[2]D. J. Brodenhamer, "Law and Disorder on the Early Frontier: Marion County, Indiana, 1823-1850, *Western Historical Quarterly* 10 (1979), 323-36 and Michael S. Hindus, *Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767-1878* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1981) are good examples.

[3]F. W. Laurent, *The Business of a Trial Court: 100 Years of Cases* (Madison, WI, 1959); Stephen Daniels, "Continuity and Change in Patterns of Case Handling: A Case Study of Two Rural Counties," *Law & Society Review* 19 (1985), 381-420.

[4]L. M. Friedman and R. V. Percival, *The Roots of Justice: Crime and Punishment in Alameda County, California, 1870-1910* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1981).

[5]P. Angle, *Bloody Williamson: A Chapter in American Lawlessness* (New York, NY, 1952).

[6]See: J. T. Cunningham, *Murder Did Pay: 19th-Century New Jersey Murders* (Newark, NJ, 1982); A. Derleth, *Wisconsin Murders* (Sauk City, WI, 1968); M. W. Wellman, *Dead and Gone: Classic Crimes of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980); and W. N. Trenerry, *Murder in Minnesota: A Collection of True Cases* (St. Paul, MN, 1985).

[7]J. Fulcher, "Murder Reports: Formulaic Narrative and Cultural Context," *Journal of Popular Culture* 18 (1985), 31-42; W. L. *Killings: Folk Justice in the Upper South* (Lexington, KY, 1986).

[8]A. Jones, *Women Who Kill* (New York, NY, 1980).

[9]R. M. Ireland, "Acquitted Yet Scorned: The Ward Trial and the Traditions of Antebellum Kentucky Criminal Justice," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 84 (1986), 107-45; and R. M. Ireland, "Homicide in Nineteenth Century Kentucky," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 81 (1983), 134-53.

[10]E. J. Gorn, " 'Good-Bye Boys, I Die a True American': Homicide, Nativism, and Working Class Culture in Antebellum New York City," *Journal of American History* 74 (1987), 409.

[11]*History of Logan County, Illinois* (Chicago, IL, 1886); and L. B. Stringer, *History of Logan County, Illinois* (Chicago, IL, 1911).

[12]Daniels, "Continuity and Change in Patterns of Case Handling," 390.

[13]W. L. Bennett, Storytelling in Criminal Trials: A Model of Social Judgment," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* no. 1 (1978), 1-22; A. Donaldson, "Rhetoric of a Small Midwestern Town," *Missouri Historical Review* 75 (1981), 448-63.

[14]*Lincoln Herald*, November 23, 1871.

[15]*Lincoln Times*, June 13, 1893.

[16]*Lincoln Herald*, February 24, 1870.

[17]*Lincoln Herald*, April 13, 1879.

[18]*Lincoln Herald*, September 13, 1894.

[19]M.C. Glenn, "Wife Beating: The Darker Side of Victorian Domesticity," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 15 (1984), 17-33; R. L. Griswold, "Sexual Cruelty and the Case for Divorce in Victorian America," *Signs* 11 (1986), 529-41; E. Pleck, "Feminist Responses to 'Crimes Against Women,' 1868-1896," *Signs* 8 (1983), 451-70; E. Pleck, *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of American Social Policy Against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York, NY, 1987).

[20]*Lincoln Times*, May 6, 1886.

[21]Circuit Court Case File #714, 1871, Illinois Regional Archival Depository, Illinois State University, Normal, IL.

[22]CCCF, #1013, IRAD, ISU, Normal, IL.

[23]S. A. Burnston, "Babies in the Well: An Underground Insight into Deviant Behavior in 18th Century Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 106 (1982), 151-86.

[24]*Lincoln Times*, October 8, 1895.

[25]*Lincoln Times*, March 2, 1882.

[26]*Lincoln Herald*, February 15, 1882.

[27]*Lincoln Times*, October 19, 1882.

[28]CCCR, #1305, IRAD, ISU, Normal, IL.

[29]R. L. Cvomyek and D. L. Cvomyek, " 'I Know Something Awful is Going to Happen': Abortion in Early Twentieth Century Alabama," *Southern Studies* 24 (1985), 229-32.

[30]CCCF, #1224, IRAD, ISU, Normal, IL.

[31]*Lincoln Times*, October 6, 1881.

[32]*Lincoln Times*, April 25, 1895.

[33]*Lincoln Times*, August 1, 1895.

[34]CCCF, #1918, IRAD, ISU, Normal, IL.

[35]*Lincoln Times*, February 6, 1896.

[36]*Lincoln Times*, February 6, 1896.

[37]*Lincoln Times*, June 21, 1888.

[38]*Lincoln Times*, November 15, 1875.

[39]*Lincoln Herald*, March 15, 1877.

[40]*Lincoln Herald*, January 27, 1876.

[41]*Lincoln Times*, September 20, 1894.

[42]CCCF, #1967, IRAD, ISU, Normal, IL.

[43]*Lincoln Herald*, March 4, 1880.

[44]*Lincoln Herald*, March 4, 1880.

[45]*Lincoln Herald*, March 18, 1880.

[46]*Lincoln Herald*, December 9, 1880.

[47]*Lincoln Herald*, December 9, 1880.

[48]*Lincoln Times*, September 29, 1881.

[49]*Lincoln Times*, August 24, 1882.

[50]*Lincoln Times*, August 31, 1882.

[51]*Lincoln Times*, June 19, 1884.

[52]*Lincoln Times*, , July 3, 1884; *Lincoln Times*, March 26, 1885.

[53]*Lincoln Times*, October 18, 1883.

[54]*Lincoln Times*, November 15, 1883.

[55]*Lincoln Times*, November 15, 1883.

[56]*Lincoln Times*, March 20, 1884.

SOME FAMILY SOURCE MATERIAL FOR *SPOON RIVER ANTHOLOGY**

Charles E. Burgess

It is well known that family background, especially from approximately the last half of the nineteenth century, was a major influence in the writings of Edgar Lee Masters. Discussions in both popular and scholarly media since the appearance of his major work, *Spoon River Anthology,* often have found links in the poetic epic to persons or events of the Central Illinois region of Masters' boyhood. The ties of close kinship were a particular inspiration in the development of many of the *Anthology's* characters. However, some strands of family lore that were woven into the *Anthology* have not been much noticed, particularly those that become evident through analysis of land, court, census, family *Bible,* and other little utilized documents about the Masters family.

In some instances, obscure family happenings had a generative relationship for creativity within a larger historical context. Masters, of course, stands only in second place among notable figures associated with the Menard County region, with Abraham Lincoln and his lore at the pinnacle. A great deal has been written about Lincoln, and he was often a subject for Masters. It is significant for purposes of this study that, when the historical or mythical Lincoln is evoked in *Spoon River Anthology,* it usually is in combination with lore of Masters' family or their neighbors—a combination that helped the book transcend banal local subject matter to take on widespread and lasting appeal.

It is with the large historical reference in mind that several findings about the life and family of Squire Davis Masters, grandfather of Edgar Lee Masters, can be reviewed. The elder Masters had enough contact with Lincoln to rate a minor footnote in history. But, for literary purposes in *Spoon River Anthology* and lesser-remembered works by the same author, Squire Davis Masters lived the sort of life that was an inspiring resource for his grandson, who considered it a magnificent example to the republic. And it was a life that paralleled the time when the region's lore was becoming part of the general consciousness and literary currency of American experience.

Born in 1868, Edgar Lee Masters lived nearly all of his first 12 years in Menard County's Lincoln Country. Notice was given very quickly in *Spoon River Anthology,* written in 1914 and 1915, that it would deal, among many things, with the popular legends of Lincoln. The villonesque introductory sketch called "The Hill" is a soliloquy in a village cemetery where the dead are about to get an opportunity to speak their own epitaphs. "The Hill" ends with a description and then what seems to be a phantom appearance of

> . . . Old Fiddler Jones
> Who played with life all his ninety years,
> Braving the sleet with bared breast,

Drinking, rioting, thinking neither of wife nor kin,
Nor gold, nor love, nor heaven?
Lo! he babbles of the fish-frys of long ago,
Of the horse-races of long ago at Clary's Grove,
Of what Abe Lincoln said
One time at Springfield.

Masters was, I believe, quite aware that including Lincoln lore would attract readers nationwide and even worldwide. This facet was just one of the compositional strategies that assured universality of appeal for *Spoon River Anthology*, but it was an important one. But it can be noted also that the poetic momentum for calling up of a Lincoln observer was set by pondering the passage of such obscure, but real, individuals of the same region as "old Towny Kincaid and Sevigne Houghton, / and Major Walker . . . ." Also, two relatives of the poet, readily identifiable by genealogists, "Uncle Isaac and Aunt Emily," are among those "sleeping, sleeping, sleeping on the hill."[1]

In the dramatic structure of the *Anthology*—and adaptations have been staged very successfully—the sketches of individuals who resemble Squire Davis Masters and his wife provide a tranquil change of pace from many of strident and sensational epitaphs. Attention to the latter kind, of course, is a well-recognized reason for the book's wide circulation. In contrast, the real Masters grandparents lived what their grandson termed a "useful life of domestic happiness."[2] Squire Davis Masters was a prosperous farmer, land dealer, lay religious leader and occasional Democratic politician of the Sandridge neighborhood in northern Menard. Squire was a given name, although it would have been appropriate as a respectful title considering his eminence and influence in his locality.

The Tennessee-born Masters, age 34, had arrived in Sandridge, with vivacious wife Lucinda, and four children—there would be four more born there—in April 1847, from nearby Morgan County. His contacts with Lincoln had come early—perhaps dating from 1832 when both were volunteers in the Black Hawk War in units that campaigned over the same territory.[3]

By 1847, Lincoln was a busy attorney in Springfield and a large Central Illinois circuit that included Petersburg. He helped with the defense of Squire Davis Masters against a suit that grew out of the newcomer's first land transaction in Menard County. Documents pertaining to that case are displayed in the Menard County courthouse and one is reprinted in Edgar Lee Masters' *Lincoln: The Man.* [4]

Family tradition, undocumented to my knowledge, has it that at least one case in which Lincoln participated was heard before Squire Davis Masters, then a justice of the peace, in the yard of the Masters farmhouse.[5]

Among the *Spoon River Anthology* epitaphs that are overtly based on Lincoln's life, "Hannah Armstrong," "William H. Herndon," and especially "Anne Rutledge" have a dramatic impact that has earned them widespread appreciation over the years. With even a minimum of historical knowledge, readers almost anywhere can understand how the influences of outwardly commonplace lives—respectively of a pioneer housewife, of a provincial attorney-biographer, and of the girl in the cabin next door in New Salem, dying young—became elements of an epic of the man arising from the soil to lead the nation in war and a new birth of freedom. Hannah Armstrong (1811-1890), had been a neighbor of the

poet's grandparents, and Herndon practiced law in the same courts where Hardin Wallace Masters, father of Edgar Lee Masters, was building his career-at-law.[6]

The grandparents of Edgar Lee Masters had a certain notoriety of their own that went out beyond their neighborhood and county, even before the grandson immortalized them under altered names in *Spoon River Anthology.* They had gained, by the turn of the century, the reputation of being the longest-married couple in Illinois. A *Petersburg Democrat* clipping of 1901 so attests.[7] The poetic portraits in *Spoon River Anthology* do not precisely match the actual lives. Squire Davis Masters died on February 2, 1904, so the couple missed by slightly more than a month celebrating the seventieth anniversary of which the *Anthology's* "Lucinda Matlock" speaks, "Enjoying, working, raising the twelve children, / Eight of whom we lost / Ere I had reached the age of sixty." Census and Biblical records, as well as a genealogy published in 1904 by Robert Jenkins, father-in-law of Edgar Lee Masters, show the actual number of children born to Squire Davis Masters and Lucinda at eight.[8] Since Lucinda was born November 11, 1814, she would have been sixty in 1874; and the number of her children who died by then were four—Thomas Henry at age twenty-two by drowning in the Platte River while enroute to California in 1862; Mary Susanna, a bedridden invalid for the last quarter of her life, at twenty-eight in 1870; Harriet Emily at age five in 1853; Lucinda Rosabel, called Lulu, at age four in 1860.[9] The elder Lucinda was two months beyond her ninety-fifth birthday when she died on January 26, 1910, close but not quite to the age specified by her poetic counterpart: "At ninety-six I had lived enough, that is all, / And passed to a sweet repose." This data is given by way of caution to scholars and popular writers—and there have been some—who have transposed statements from the *Anthology* into supposedly factual biographical sketches of the poet and his forbears.

In the years when the village boy who would become author of *Spoon River Anthology* enjoyed outings to the Masters farm in the 1870's, and during most summers in the 1880's, his grandparents were in their sixties and seventies. They were vigorous and prosperous enough to employ a household maid and hired men for the most exacting toil of the large farm.[10] Squire Davis Masters, briefly a state legislator and local justice of the peace in his early years in Menard County,[11] later did service for many years as a court-appointed overseer of the poor and handicapped in Sandridge. To show the closeness to the era of Lincoln's residence, the wards of Squire Davis Masters included Bill McNamar, son of the man who in local legend had jilted Anne Rutledge.[12] The grave of Anne, until her remains purportedly was moved to Petersburg in 1890, was just three miles southwest of the Masters farm, in Old Concord Cemetery.[13]

Evidence of the financial well-being of Squire Davis Masters is substantial. He prospered by marketing cattle when beef was needed during the Civil War. The deed books of Menard County contain many records of his land acquisitions, generally of farm acreage in Sandridge, but also of lots in Peterburg and other villages. I haven't managed a tabulation of all these transactions, but we can note that his grandson's estimate of the peak holdings of Squire Davis Masters at about 500 acres of land and "at his best $75,000"—a considerable sum a century or so ago.[14]

The most casual of researchers about Edgar Lee Masters become aware quickly of the influence of Squire Davis and Lucinda Masters on their grandson—to him,

in summary, they exemplified all the sturdy virtues of agrarian pioneers. I want to call attention to some little noticed evidence about that influence. Business acumen and a strict sense of justice are evident in the will of Squire Davis Masters, dated June 24, 1901, and signed in shaky hand.[15] It is ironic that the document, meant to be fair to all, became the subject of lengthy embittering litigation in which the poet's father and aunt, Hardin Wallace Masters and Minerva Vincent, and the four children of another aunt, Anna Rankin, were arrayed against Wilbourne, the son who had remained on the family farm.

Squire Davis Masters noted in the will that it was his desire "that all my children (or, when deceased, their respective descendants) may share more nearly equally in my estate." He specified that he had "heretofore given my children sums of money to the amounts as follows, to wit: To my daughter, Minerva E. Vincent, $2000, and to my son, Hardin W. Masters, $4350, and to my daughter, Ann Rankin, (now deceased,) $5,150 . . ." For the record, the latter sum is more accurate than that which Edgar Lee Masters, in his autobiography, recalled as $10,000 given by his grandfather to aid Anna and her husband, Norman, in business. The poet attributed the Rankin family's move to Oregon about 1890, and Anna's death soon after, to the trauma that followed Norman's loss of the money, or most of it, in Chicago Board of Trade speculation.[16]

The division set up by Squire Davis Masters gave his aged wife Lucinda control for her lifetime of his real estate and income from it. Thereafter, a portion of land was to go to Minerva and another to Wilbourne. Hardin Wallace Masters was bequeathed the flat sum of $800, payable "within one year after my decease." These terms apparently were meant to square the accounts.

With that taken care of, Squire Davis Masters further specified that "within two years after the death of my said wife," the remaining real estate holdings should be sold and the money divided with Minerva, Hardin and Wilbourne each receiving one-fourth; and the Rankin children each one-quarter of the remaining quarter share. Squire Davis Masters apparently did not anticipate the dissatisfaction these arrangements would cause, since he appointed sons Hardin and Wilbourne as executors. Subsequently, a neighbor, Henry Houghton, was the court-appointed manager of the estate until he was discharged by the probate court in 1911. The challenge did not break the will, but a settlement was reached, yielding about $2,000 more to Hardin Wallace Masters.[17] The trusteeship of the estate was not ended until 1914, with Petersburg banker Charles Frackelton as the final administrator.

That was in the same year when *Spoon River Anthology* began emerging, compulsively set down by Edgar Lee Masters at odd moments during a busy career-at-law in Chicago. The contentions certainly were familiar and fresh to the poet at the time.[18] However, it is one of the rare episodes concerning which he gave the family a break and did not mine the facts for a specific searing epitaph or two. Probably this was because of his deep affection for his grandparents, father Hardin and Uncle Will. But one might detect some echoes of the dispute in passages where *Anthology* characters touch on family divisiveness. "Lucinda Matlock," who without doubt is a pure reflection of the actual grandmother, does address "Degenerate sons and daughters" who dwell on matters "of sorrow and weariness, / Anger, discontent and drooping hopes." "Nancy Knapp," *Spoon River Anthology's* rural housewife driven to madness and arson by hard

times remembers, "We bought the farm with what he inherited, / And his brothers and sisters accused him of poisoning / His father's mind against the rest of them." There is "James Garber," a routine-numbed villager, who summons up vistas like those seen from the Masters farm, where the hills at Millers' Ford seem "near at hand," though they are "beyond four miles of meadow"; where memories of "the faces of friends and **kindred**" [emphasis mine] / have "Become as faded photographs, pitifully silent, / Sad for the look which means: 'We cannot help you'. . . Themselves compelled at midnight and at noon / To watch with steadfast eye their destinies . . . ."[19] These epitaphs, like the ones with Lincoln allusions, have been among the most frequently anthologized from *Spoon River Anthology*—with good reason, since they contain remarkable language and images, despite commonplace subject matter. The powerful forces of poetic admiration and compassion have been as apparent to general readers and critics across the nation and world as they were to the few who had direct knowledge of the Masters' family's internal conflicts.

While there are definite classical influences and parallels in what was written in *Spoon River Anthology*—and these qualities have been frequently cited and traced—the most familiar epitaphs have a language and pace typical of the speech patterns of midwestern pastors and politicians. The poet had plenty of exposure to these styles in religious services and in observations of courtroom and campaign activity during his early boyhood in Menard County. His father was the state's attorney, and by all accounts an eloquent and resourceful pleader. Grandfather Squire Davis Masters had been in politics and lay ministry,[20] and probably took his grandson to church more frequently than did the parents. But for the language of the pulpit, and some of its sentiments, I want to suggest a relatively unnoticed influence from the time of Masters' childhood—the widely-traveled Methodist clergyman Bethuel Vincent. He was a brother of a founder of the Chautauqua movement, and married the poet's Aunt Minerva in 1867. In his autobiography, *Across Spoon River*, Edgar Lee Masters speaks of the couple with great affection, particularly of the presents they gave annually to brighten what was otherwise a bleak time in the non-Christmas observing Hardin Masters household. Reverend Vincent, who held pastorates in several cities including Akron and Philadelphia, appears to have been more cosmopolitan than the hypocritical, narrowminded majority of representatives of the calling in *Spoon River Anthology*.[21] Nevertheless, the poet noted, Uncle Beth made plain his disapproval toward the life style of Hardin Masters. While not dissolute, the poet's father enjoyed a drink, a game of cards, the fraternity of horse racing, and, it is said, the company of pretty women.[22] This conflict by two men, whom the boy happened to admire, may have given him some insights for drawing the *Spoon River Anthology* epitaphs about the fear of pleasure in contrast with the consequences of enjoying it. If there is a portrait reflecting the uncle in *Spoon River Anthology*, and his differences with Hardin Masters, perhaps it is "Jacob Godbey." This character scolds a liberal *Spoon River* attorney, "Benjamin Pantier,"[23] whose own epitaph tells of domestic tension relieved by carousing:

> How did you feel after I was dead and gone,
> And your goddess, Liberty, unmasked as a strumpet,
> Selling out the streets of Spoon River
> To the insolent giants
> Who manned the saloons from afar?

Did it occur to you that personal liberty
Is liberty of the mind,
Rather than of the belly?

Also, I think there may be something of Uncle Beth and his concerned empathy for the Masters family in one of the rare *Spoon River Anthology* epitaphs with a kindly view of a Protestant pastor. "Le Roy Goldman" identifies himself as "the revivalist." He maintains that the spiritual influence of family can be a key to eternal reconciliation.

. . . blessed are you, say I, who know all now,
You who have lost, ere you pass,
A father or mother, or old grandfather or mother,
Some beautiful soul that lived life strongly,
And knew you all through, and loved you ever,
Who would not fail to speak for you,
And give God an intimate view of your soul,
As only one of your flesh could do it.
This is the hand your hand will reach for,
To lead you along the corridor
To the court where you are a stranger.

For researchers who try to measure the influence of the Petersburg years of residence and subsequent contacts, there are many quandaries to explore. Major challenges exist in achieving accuracy in biographical and chronological matters because of imprecision by Masters himself in his autobiographical writings. These inaccuracies persistently resurface in regional accounts and even in what has been passed on to researchers by Masters' widow, children and other relatives. The consequence has been that some errors have been renewed for more than two generations in newspaper stories, periodical pieces and works by scholars. To note some of the most pervasive examples of long-term errors, along with correct data, it can be thoroughly documented that he was born in 1868, not 1869;[24] that the family moved from Petersburg to Lewistown in 1880, not 1881;[25] that Squire Davis Masters' initial purchase in Menard County was 280 acres, not 160.[26] Edgar Lee Masters did a lot of his autobiographical writing, particularly of *Across Spoon River,* while separated from documentary sources, relying on memory. Masters did not take kindly, for the most part, to writers in popular or scholarly fields who sought to document his sources and life, beyond what he had to say about them himself. That same attitude has prevailed in the subsequent administration of his literary estate. The domestic life of Masters was turbulent. His survivors have been sensitive about the opening of old wounds, which come up inevitably in the course of interviews and written inquiries.

Sagas of families have been popular literary vehicles since *Genesis,* or the Greek myths, down through the works of twentieth century authors of quality ranging from Galsworthy to Herman Wouk. A good case could be made for an interpretation of *Spoon River Anthology* as an account of the spiritual and temporal developments in a family like that of Squire Davis Masters—the pioneer influence, the ties to great events and personalities, the trials and triumphs of descendants, neighbors and others within the circle of acquaintance and observation of a central couple. Certainly, readers in many locations found interest in the threads of continuity linking the separate epitaphs of *Spoon River Anthology.*

I am as guilty as most other analysts of Masters of pursuing the interesting local and regional allusions. In criticism, there obviously is a limit to the usefulness

of such an approach, especially as the date of the writing of *Spoon River Anthology* becomes more remote. The book has had quite a respectable national and international audience for nearly three quarters of a century. The attraction didn't depend on how truly his work reflected regional personalities and events including his own experiences or those of his kindred. What made the book a general success were qualities such as its capturing something of the sweep of American history and its political and social contentions, along with the intensely personal experiences and dilemmas of individuals and groups. *Spoon River Anthology* has been many things to many people, and it will continue to be.

NOTES

*This article is adapted from a presentation by the author on the topic "Self and Community in Illinois Poetry—The Poetry of Edgar Lee Masters" at the Seventh Illinois Literary Heritage Conference. The program was at Western Illinois University, Macomb, October 18, 1989.

The following abbreviations will be used in citations: ELM for Edgar Lee Masters, SDM for Squire Davis Masters, and HWM for Hardin Wallace Masters.

[1]P. 2. Quotations from *Spoon River Anthology* are from the standard expanded edition. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916). Since the epitaphs are brief and indexed, further citation by page number is unnecessary. The Kincaids and Houghtons are among the most frequently mentioned neighbors of the Masters family in ELM's *The Sangamon: The Rivers of America* (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942), indexed references. Major Newton Walker was an important early developer of nearby Lewistown in Fulton County. Isaac Bird Masters (1849-1923), a cousin of SDM, came to Menard County from their common birthplace, Overton County, Tennessee, in the late 1860's; Emmeline Masters McLaughlin (1827-1844), of Morgan County, was a sister of SDM: Charles E. Burgess, "Edgar Lee Masters' Paternal Ancestry: A Pioneer Heritage and Influence," *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 7 (Spring 1984), 49, 56.

[2]ELM, "Days in the Lincoln Country," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 18 (January 1926), 779.

[3][Rev. R. D. Miller] "Biographical Sketches of Patrons," *The History of Menard and Mason Counties, Illinois* (Chicago: O. L. Baskin & Co., 1879), p. 748, gives the month of the move. SDM enlisted 30 April 1832 in Morgan County. He is listed as a private on the muster roll of Captain William Gillham, attached to the First Regiment, Third Brigade, under command of Brigadier General James D. Henry: Ellen M. Whitney, *The Black Hawk War 1831-1832*, I, *Illinois Historical Collections* 35 (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Historical Society, 1970), pp. 366-367. "Days in the Lincoln Country," 780, 787, summarizes SDM's experiences in the war and subsequent militia captaincy. Lincoln was mustered 21 April 1832 as captain of the Sangamon County Company, Fourth Regiment, Brigade of Mounted Volunteers, commanded by Brigadier General Samuel Whiteside. After Lincoln's 30-day enlistment expired, he continued service as a private in Independent Rangers and Independent Spy Corps: Roy P. Basler, ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, I (New Brunswick, New Jersey; Rutgers University Press, 1953), pp. 10-11.

[4](New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1931), pp. 226-227 and adjacent illustration of a brief attributed to Lincoln. ELM's analysis of the suit and Lincoln's participation is in "Days of the Lincoln Country," 780-784.

[5]"Days in the Lincoln Country," 782. SDM's election as justice of the peace for Sandridge Precinct (township) in 1849 is recorded in "Illinois Executive Record" 5, p. 257, in the Illinois State Archives at Springfield. He was one of the first Menard countians to fill such a role: "S. D. Masters was also quite an early Justice," notes author Rev. R. D. Miller in "The History of Menard County," *The History of Menard and Mason Counties, Illinois*, p. 381.

[6]The dates for Hannah Armstrong are from her tombstone in Oakland Cemetery, Petersburg; her residence in Sandridge is mentioned in Thomas P. Reep, *Lincoln at New Salem* (Petersburg: The Old Salem Lincoln League, 1927), pp. 62, 68. The friendship of the Masters and Armstrong families extended into the twentieth century as noted in Charles E. Burgess, "Introduction,"

The Sangamon, by ELM (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988 reprint of 1942 edition), pp. xxix-xxxiii. ELM, in *Across Spoon River: An Autobiography* [hereafter cited as *ASR*] (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1936), p. 45 and elsewhere, wrote that HWM and Herndon were in legal partnership, but I have located no evidence of this in Menard County Court records.

[7]"Oldest Married Couple in Illinois," ? March 1901. The undated clipping was supplied by a genealogical researcher.

[8]*The Jenkins Family Boook,* (Chicago: LaSalle Printing Co., 1904) pp. 184-186. ELM gathered information for this section by interviewing his grandparents: ELM, *ASR,* pp. 5-6; ELM, "Affidavit of Lucinda Masters," 9 September 1897, certified by HWM, ms. in Masters Collection, University of Texas-Austin.

[9]The genealogical data discovered about the children of SDM and Lucinda is chiefly from tombstone information, indexed passages in *ASR,* and dates recorded in the SDM family *Bible.* SDM's granddaughter, Edith Masters, permitted me to copy the *Bible* entries 8 February 1969 at her home in Petersburg. She identified the pre-1900 handwriting as that of SDM, with the later entries by her father, Wilbourne.

Minerva Ellen, b. 20 December 1835 (Morgan County) -d. 23 September 1920 (Denver, Colorado) m. 6 June 1867 (Petersburg) to Bethuel T. Vincent (b. 9 August 1834 in Tuscallosa, Alabama-d. 30 July 1920 in Colorado). They had a son Henry B. b. 25 December 1872-d. 7 January 1941 (Erie, Pennsylvania), a noted organist, composer and Chautauqua lecturer.

Thomas Henry, b. 3 August 1839 (Morgan County) d. 28 May 1862 (near Ft. Laramie, Wyoming).

Mary Susanna, b. 11 February 1842 (Morgan County)-d. 19 August 1870 (Menard County).

Hardin Wallace, b. 11 September 1845 (Morgan County)-d. 14 November 1925 (Springfield), m. 10 September 1867 (Pana, Illinois) to Emma Jerusha Dexter (b. 16 August 1849 in Albany, Vermont-d. 7 October 1926 in Springfield). Their children were Edgar Lee b. 23 August 1868 (Garnett, Kansas)-d. 5 March 1950 (Melrose Park, Pennsylvania), Madeline Ellen b. 18 August 1870 (Menard County)-d. 24 September 1932, Alexander Dexter b. 18 August 1873 (Petersburg)-d. 1 September 1878 (Petersburg), Thomas Davis b. 20 September 1877 (Petersburg)-d. 2 January 1930 (Springfield). Thomas and his father were law partners in Lewistown and Springfield.

Maylysa Ann (family usage usually Anna Mellissa), b. 3 May 1848 (Menard County)-d. c.1890 (Oregon), m.14 November 1878 (Petersburg) to Norman K. Rankin (b. 21 December 1847, Hancock County, Illinois). Their children were Ralph V. b. 29 November 1879-d. 1952 (Oregon), Norma b. 13 September 1880 (m. ? Callisch), Alta Irene B. 14 April 1882, Earl Masters b. 27 July 1883, and Maria b. ?, d. in infancy.

Menard County was the place of birth and death of the three last-born children of SDM and Lucinda:

Harriet Emily, b. 25 March 1853-d. 2 October 1858.

Lucinda (Lulu) Rosabel, b. 31 August 1855-d. 2 February 1860.

Wilbourne (family usage usually Wilbur or Wilburn), b. 20 February 1859-d. 4 November 1952, m. 22 February 1881 (Petersburg) to Norma L. Leach (b. 28 July 1862 in Bloomington, IL-d., 27 September 1961 in Petersburg). Parents of Edith Leach b. 25 January 1882-d. 6 January 1972 (Springfield).

Further genealogical data about the Masters family from its establishment in Menard County, beyond the scope of this article, is available in my worksheet deposited in 1990 at the Masters Memorial Museum, Petersburg, Petersburg Public Library, and Western Illinois University Library, Macomb. Helpful in tracing earlier generations is *Masters Family History 1691-1989,* ed. Jack Masters (Book Crafters: Chelsea, Michigan, 1989), but it has many omissions and inaccuracies on the Menard County branch.

[10]As early as 1850 the SDM household included a non-relative, identified as "farmer"—a tenant or hired man—George Thompson, 19, born in Ireland: Federal Census 1850, Menard County Illinois, Roll 20, p. 282B, line 4. Elizabeth Lamore, 18, "domestic," and Christopher Lamore, 35, "farm laborer," both born in "Kur Hes[sia]," Germany, are listed in the household in Federal Census 1860, Menard County Illinois, Roll 205, p. 70, lines 14-15. ELM remembered two long-term employees at the farm from the time of his childhood. One was a "hired man," "Scoie" Scholfield, *ASR,* p. 20, and Kimball Flaccus, "Edgar Lee Masters: A Biographical and Critical Study" (New York University, Ph.D. Diss., 1952), pp. 35-36. The other was William

"Bill" Schultz, tenant farmer: ELM, *The Sangamon*, p. 133. Schultz's dates on a Concord Cemetery tombstone are 20 September 1840-31 March 1924.

[11]*The Jenkins Family Book*, p. 184, says SDM served as a justice of the peace "for a number of years," and mentions the farmyard case in which Lincoln participated. SDM was elected to the Illinois House as a "Nebraska Democrat" to serve one term, 1855-1856: *Illinois State Journal* [Springfield], 31 August 1854 and 2 January 1855.

[12]*The Sangamon*, indexed references to McNamar family. The "jilting" is disputed with careful documentation by Thomas P. Reep, *Lincoln at New Salem*, pp. 104-105. The dates on the grave of William McNamar in Concord Cemetery are 1839-1920. Ann Rutledge died 25 August 1835 in a cabin on what is known locally as the Shirding or Herschel Hollis place, about two miles from the SDM farm.

[13]*The Sangamon*, p. 135. The local account is that a few buttons were found when the grave was opened by undertaker Samual Montgomery and Oakland Cemetery promoter D. M. Bone: interview with Petersburg historian Matilda Plews 28 December 1968; Dale Carnegie, *Lincoln the Unknown* (New York, The Century Company, 1932), pp. 43-44; "Cemetery Records of Menard County, Illinois," typescript prepared by DAR Genealogical Committee, 1965, copy in Petersburg Public Library.

[14]"Days in the Lincoln Country," 785. SDM was well off even before the Civil War. The 1860 Federal Census, Menard County, Roll 205, page 70, line 6, shows he possessed real estate valued at $9,000 and personal property, including livestock, valued at $43,000.

[15]The original will and related documents were consulted and copied from Estate File Box 527, Menard County Probate Record. The will was prepared, and signed as a witness, by N. W. Branson (*ASR*, p. 303), Petersburg's most prominent attorney at the time. He was a long-time secretary of the state Board of Law Examiners: Rev. R. D. Miller, *Past and Present of Menard County, Illinois* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1905), pp. 404-407.

[16]*ASR*. p. 44. The sum HWM had received included $1,000 to buy a house in Petersburg, now the Masters Memorial Museum. It was purchased 20 April 1876 by HWM from a Petersburg banker and his wife, David S. and M. Louise Frackelton: Menard County Deed Book 33, p. 62. ELM described the transaction as "my grandfather bought my father a house" *ASR*, p. 27. The amount SDM had given to HWM also may have included expenses for HWM's attendance at Illinois College, Jacksonville, and the University of Michigan. SDM also advanced money to assist HWM's unsuccessful efforts in farming, grocery, dry goods and pharmacy trades and living expenses during the HWM family stays in Garnett, Kansas, Sandridge and Petersburg. Similar aid was refused by SDM after HWM moved his family to Lewistown: *ASR*, pp. 8, 11-12, 56. A firm called "Masters & Rankin," dealing in lumber and other building products, is listed in the "Petersburg Business Directory" *History of Menard and Mason Counties, Illinois*, p. 864.

[17]*ASR*, pp. 303, 320.

[18]ELM recalled that just before he started writing the epitaphs his mother visited him in Chicago where "we went over the whole past of Lewistown and Petersburg . . . I was reinvested with myself in those incarnations that had long since surrendered their sheaths to the changes of the years": *ASR*, pp. 338-339.

[19]A Garber family, with son James, age 9 in 1860, lived near the SDM farm: *1860 U.S. Census Menard County Illinois*, transcribed by Helen Bell de Perez Galvez (St. Louis: Genealogical Research and Production, 1977), pp. 49-50.

[20]SDM and Lucinda were members of the Methodist congregation in Petersburg (*History of Menard and Mason Counties, Illinois*, p. 748) but frequently attended the Concord Church of the Cumberland Presbyterian sect, about five miles nearer their home. A description of SDM's discourses at Concord Church is in *The Sangamon*, pp. 123-124.

[21]Bethuel T. Vincent, after youthful work as a clerk in Erie, Pennsylvania, and Chicago, attended Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston. His first pastorates in 1861-1862 were at Lamont and Lockport in northern Illinois. Except for the period 1876-1888 in Pennsylvania and Ohio, he was a pastor and district administrator of Colorado congregations from 1863 to 1920: Lowell B. Swan, "The B. T. Vincent Vignette - A Centennial View," typescript of talk presented 1 February 1955 to the Colorado Historical Society. This and other biographical information about Bethuel Vincent was provided from the archives of the Rocky Mountain Conference, United Methodist Church, Iliff School of Theology, Denver. In addition to pioneering Methodist work in the West, Bethuel and his brother John Vincent were active in the Sunday School movement in the Midwest in the 1860's: Emory Stevens Burke *et al.*, *The History of American Methodism*

2 (New York-Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), pp. 156, 194-195, 435. This probably provided an occasion for acquaintanceship of Bethuel and Minerva Masters, who graduated from the Methodist-affiliated Illinois Conference Female Academy in Jacksonville (now MacMurray College). She taught and "continued to cultivate herself to the end of her days": *ASR*, p. 97. 1860 Federal Census Menard County, Roll 205, p. 70, line 8, lists Minerva as a teacher.

[22]*ASR*, p. 97; my interview 21 February 1970 with former Fulton County Judge Hobart Boyd, age ninety-three, near Lewistown, in which several HWM extra-marital liaisons were described.

[23]The Pantier family of Sandridge is mentioned frequently in ELM, *The Sangamon*, indexed references. Many local sources and critical analysts have noted the "Pantier" sequence of *Spoon River Anthology* epitaphs as corresponding with the tensions of the HWM family.

[24]The birth date is 23 August 1868 in both the SDM *Bible* (see my footnote eight) and the HWM family *Bible*, in the possession of Dr. Thomas Masters. He permitted me to copy entries 4 October 1970 and identified the pre-1920 entries as in the handwriting of Emma Masters, mother of ELM. The 1870 Federal Census of Menard County, Illinois (p. 133, line 28) lists ELM as age two. He actually was a few weeks short of his second birthday when the enumeration was taken 15 July 1870.

[25]Charles E. Burgess, "*Spoon River:* Politics and Poetry," *Papers on Language and Literature* 23 (Summer 1987), 351-352.

[26]ELM used the lower number in "Days in the Lincoln Country," 780. Menard County Deed Book 3, pp. 65-66, shows that SDM "of the County of Morgan" purchased 280 acres for $1,200 from the Anno family in a deed executed and recorded 2 June 1846. He moved to the land ten months later at the beginning of the 1847 agricultural season (see my note three). Deed Book 3, pp. 213-214, shows SDM, now listed as a Menard County resident, buying an additional 40 acres for $200 28 April 1847 from the Anno family.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

EXILES IN A LAND OF LIBERTY: MORMONS IN AMERICA, 1830-1846. By Kenneth H. Winn. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989. Pp. ix-284. Preface, endnotes, bibliography, index. $34.95 Cloth. ISBN 0-8078-1829-1.

One of the most exciting aspects of Mormon historical inquiry in recent years is the explicit interpretation of the religion's development in relation to the larger social, cultural, political, and economic setting within the United States. Klaus Hansen's *Mormonism and the American Experience* (1981) was one of the first to interpret Mormonism in this manner, but others have followed in his footsteps. In an especially candid work closely related to the one under review here, Marvin S. Hill concluded in *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (1989) that Joseph Smith's religious goals were a reaction to modernity and the growing number of choices available to Americans that resulted from it. He argued that the Mormon attempt to build what Joseph Smith, Jr., referred to as "Zion" was a counteraction against the decreasing role of religion in an increasingly secular world. Smith's religious awakening and prophetic mission, according to Hill, incorporated a biting alienation from American society and a call for a radical restoration of what he perceived as religion at the center of human life. This involved as a matter of course a return to theocratic government and communal lifestyles. The Latter Day Saint movement culminated the search for a refuge from the increasingly pluralistic society around Smith and his followers.

Kenneth H. Winn's *Exiles in a Land of Liberty* moves beyond Hill's work, altering the overall interpretation somewhat but commenting on some of the same themes. Winn, resident historian with the Missouri Historical Society and adjunct assistant professor of history at Washington University, St. Louis, asserts that the Mormons, while alienated from society and seeking a return to monolithic religion at the center of their lives, argued their case using terms very much in vogue for the period. Winn concludes that the Mormon/Gentile tensions of the first generation of Mormonism were debated on the grounds of "classical republicanism," the quintessential political philosophy of the era. While the Saints and their enemies both invoked republican principles and symbols in their arguments, they used them in radically different ways. The definitions, depending on the mindsets of the protagonists, shifted and the result was constant tension and sometimes violence. While the analysis offered in *Exiles in a Land of Liberty* only extends through the exodus of the Mormons from Illinois in 1846, the theme could probably be traced in the Great Basin through the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Winn suggests, like Hill's earlier work, that Mormonism originated in 1830 as a protest religion against pluralism and the concomitant disorder of Jacksonian American society. It attracted people who were outcasts from religious and social pluralism, market capitalism, optimistic outlook, and general libertarianism of the era. These people saw the world around them as a threat to the cherished

principles of the American Republic. They invoked the image of the Puritans fleeing a decadent England and American patriots of 1776 overthrowing a corrupt regime as their heroes. Arguing that the sacred Constitution and Union were in grave danger, the Mormons asserted that the only means of maintaining the good that the Republic had created was to withdraw from larger society, adopt a millennial position, and await the demise of the United States. Emerging from that would be a restoration of a glorious religious utopia which bore a striking resemblance to the Jeffersonian ideal of a society of honest yeoman farmers.

If declension was the theme of Mormon assessments of the world, the celebration of the republican nation and its accomplishments as a continuation of the legacy of 1776 marked non-Mormon arguments about the United States. They feared that Joseph Smith and the Mormons were anti-republican subversives who did not accept the remarkable advances of the nation and were seeking to overthrow it and replace it with a theocratic tyranny. Their concerns led to conflicts, which in turn confirmed the positions of each side that the other had rejected the republican ideals of the American Revolution. Talking the same language, using the same symbols and images, argues Winn, Mormons and non-Mormons each arrived at startling different interpretations of the events surrounding them and offered remedies that were both drastic and ill-informed.

There is much to recommend in *Exiles in a Land of Liberty*. By focusing attention on the rhetoric of the controversies between Mormons and non-Mormons, by seriously analyzing the Mormon critique of American society, and by invoking the theme of republicanism in his analysis Winn has presented a useful lens through which to reassess early Mormon history. The author sees the difficulties between the Mormons and their opponents as essentially ideological, each side viewing itself as the defender of republican ideals hatched in the American Revolution and matured in the years since. The extent of the differences between each side's evaluation of republicanism helped account for the bitterness of the conflicts that littered the early history of the religious movement.

But if there is much to recommend this work, there are some issues that were not resolved in the mind of this reviewer. First, Winn describes the manner in which the *Book of Mormon* affirms the republican values that were so much a part of the Mormon critique of American society. But he overstates his case. While there are certain democratic and republican themes in the *Book of Mormon* there is also a strong current of aristocracy, government only by the best people rather than the whole people. Rulers served by divine right, there was no separation of church and state, and freedom of religion was never truly a part of the culture described in the book. The *Book of Mormon* was at best an ambivalent spokesman for republicanism. It was, perhaps, a plea for rule by the Saints in a theocracy rather than a celebration of democratic principles. (See this argument made more strongly in Marvin S. Hill, "Counter-Revolution: The Mormon Reaction to the Coming of American Democracy," *Sunstone*, 13 (June 1989): 24-26.)

Additionally, Winn does not deal satisfactorily with the differences between the reaction to the Mormons of the Ohioans and the Missourians. Both, he concludes, predicated their opposition to Mormonism on republican rhetoric, yet their reactions were strikingly different. "While Ohioans viewed the church

mainly as a contemptible nuisance, the 'old settlers' on the Missouri frontier felt only counterrevolutionary violence could save their way of life from Mormon domination," (p. 85) Winn writes. If the arguments and concerns over the movement were identical, why were not the reactions? I would have liked some discussion of these dichotomies in the use of the republican ideals to defend actions.

These comments aside, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty* is a useful work which adds appreciably to our understanding of the early Mormon movement. It is especially valuable in offering a new way of interpreting the Mormon/non-Mormon conflict with its emphasis on republican idealogy and rhetoric. It will be of interest to those interested in the early development of Mormonism and is a useful companion and sometimes counterpoint to the work of Marvin S. Hill; Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (1988); and Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (1984).

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OUR PARK AT THE TOP OF THE HILL: OR THE HISTORY OF NORTH HILL PARK, NORTH HILL, BURLINGTON, DES MOINES COUNTY, IOWA. By Jonan Haskell. [Burlington, Iowa: Craftsman Press, Inc.], 1989. Pp. 243. $14.95.

This volume is a manifesto for historical preservation. Jonan Haskell's inspiration to create this book occurred about two years ago. In November, 1987, the Burlington Medical Center (BMC) administration announced plans to acquire North Hill Park (immediately adjacent to the medical complex) for an oncology clinic and parking lot. Since the park is located within the Heritage Hill Historic District, a public outcry resulted against BMC. Approximately three thousand people signed a petition asking the Burlington City Council not to honor the BMC request. The petitioners based their claim for keeping the park on the Congressional Act of July 2, 1836 which said all land originally set aside as public squares in the original platting of Burlington would be reserved from sale and would remain forever for public use. North Hill Park had originally been one of these public squares reserved from public sale. The Federal statute coupled with the grass roots preservation efforts influenced the city council not to allow BMC's annexation of the park.

Haskell composed this work to prove the historical legitimacy of North Hill Park. She writes that "Extensive research seems to reveal that no other single block, and the hill and city around it, are so thoroughly woven into the warp and woof of the political, economic and cultural history of Iowa" (p. xiv).

Our Park at the Top of the Hill is an atypical work of local history. Haskell (a retired history and social science instructor at Southeastern Community College, Burlington) has created a volume with an index, a bibliography, and paren-

thetical references. Her interests in history, political science, and anthropology are reflected in the book's text. Haskell believes in long term structuralist history since she starts her narrative in the geological era and concludes it in 1989. The volume is divided into five parts and twenty-nine chapters. The first half of the book (parts one and two) describes the Burlington area's Indian and white past prior to 1860. Part three chronicles the evolution of North Hill Public Square into North Hill Park from the 1860s to about 1900. The fourth part narrates the story of North Hill and the establishment of the Heritage Hill Historic District. In part five, Haskell recounts the establishment and development of the Burlington Parks System from the 1890s to the present.

The major sources used in the work include Black Hawk's autobiography, several Des Moines County histories, Burlington newspapers, Philip D. Jordan's *Catfish Bend,* back issues of the *Palimpsest,* and architect Steven Brower's historical surveys of Heritage Hill and Crapo Park. One criticism of Haskell's book is that she has a tendency to use non-scholarly editions when she quotes people like Jacques Marquette, Black Hawk, and Zebulon M. Pike. For example, she cites the 1882 edition of Black Hawk's autobiography rather than the Donald Jackson edition. Marquette and Pike's words are taken from *Palimpsest* articles rather than the *Jesuit Relations* or the Jackson edition of Pike's writings. Haskell's volume does not supersede Jordan's *Catfish Bend,* but it is still an informative and entertaining narrative of Burlington's past.

The greatest merit of *Our Park at the Top of the Hill* is that it documents how a grass roots collective action made a difference. The North Hill Park controversy was an example of conflicting definitions of what history is supposed to be. Many times people think of history as being only the written word; they forget that it can also include three-dimensional artifacts—and not just objects and buildings but parks too.

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STUDIES IN ILLINOIS POETRY. Edited by John E. Hallwas. Urbana: Stormline Press, 1989. Pp. 143. $7.

This collection honors the current notion that American culture is more accurately represented as a mixed salad than as a melting pot. It is refreshing to read through these essays free of an overriding conception which often becomes overbearing in works like this. In his editor's "Introduction" John Hallwas pleads for nothing stronger than "continuities." It is indeed pleasing to discover continuities, relationships, and experiences shared by Illinois poets and revealed by the authors in this volume, but it is even more pleasing to discover the rich diversity of the Illinois poetic tradition.

This book is, then, appropriately titled as "studies in" rather than "a theory about" Illinois poetry. Nevertheless, each of the contributors here does have his or her own observations about common threads running through the poetry of Illinois. One thread which this volume substantially illustrates is the encounter

between an immigrant and a land which, if not a virgin land, is still a forbiddingly and enticingly new land. Hallwas suggests that this experience of the poet as immigrant is what connects H., an early nineteenth-century British bard who settled in Springfield for a few years, and our contemporary Chicago Latino poets. Hallwas aptly observes that "after more than 150 years the state is still a place where people are working out a relationship between their roots and a strange, threatening environment." A nice aspect of this proposition is that it connects the more agrarian experiences of downstate poets with the landscape to the urban experiences of poets writing about the cityscape of Chicago.

In the first essay of this collection, "Illinois Poetry before the Chicago Renaissance," Hallwas makes a case for those early Illinois poets who came before Lindsay, Masters, and Sandburg who are worth reading. For those unfamiliar with this territory, this is a useful exploration though it neglects the heritage of the state's native Americans.

Daniel L. Guillory's essay on "Tradition and Innovation in Twentieth-Century Illinois Poetry" presents another feature of this collection which is an effort to formulate an aesthetics by which to meaningfully approach Illinois poetry. He sees twentieth-century Illinois poetry as the result of the forces of tradition and innovation upon our poets. He finds icons of voice and icons of place as "the most obvious expressions of tradition in Illinois poetry," and he demonstrates this convincingly with examples from fairly well-known Illinois poets such as John Knoepfle and David Etter to less well-known poets such as Katherine Kerr and Duane Taylor. More recently, he argues, our poets have become aestheticist, that is, concerned with the "enhancement of feeling," and this can be seen in the work of poets like Gwendolyn Brooks and Michael Ananaia.

Maria K. Mootry's "OBAC and the Black Chicago Poets: Towards a Black Visual Aesthetic" and Marc Zimmerman's "Transplanting Roots and Taking Off: Latino Poetry in Illinois" are both significant essays for establishing the minority presence firmly in the context of Illinois poetry and beyond. Mootry shows the innovation of Black Chicago poets of the sixties in their quest for a visual aesthetic which connects them with the modernist agenda of breaking down the boundaries between the arts. It is an important account of those poets connected to either the Organization of Black American Culture or the Black Aesthetic.

Marc Zimmerman's lengthy essay is a substantial catalogue of Illinois Latino poets which has the ring of authority as the "first effort to trace the history of Illinois Latino poetry." Even moderately informed readers will probably be surprised at the richness and abundance of Latino poetry which has been and is being written in Illinois.

Robert Bray's concluding essay, "The Regionalist Tradition in Midwestern Poetry: Minor Leagues or Minor Key?" is a fine appreciation of the lyric spirit in Illinois poetry. It is fitting that Bray's essay is last in this collection because if we feel that we want to pause in our learning about Illinois poetry and try loving it, he's the lover. He successfully defends the regional lyric against its purported minor league status and conveys his affection for the truly poetic voice found in so many compelling lines of Illinois poetry.

These *Studies in Illinois Poetry* provide an excellent overview of the landscape of poetry in Illinois: its heritage, its diversity, its achievement, and even something

of its promise. As a critical, evaluative, and useful introductory guide to and assessment of Illinois poetry, this volume is rewarding.

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